New Kingdom Ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

Fredrik Hagen

CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

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Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

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VOLUME 46

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By
Fredrik Hagen

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2011

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Hagen, Fredrik.
New Kingdom ostraca from the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge / by Fredrik Hagen.
p. cm. – (Culture and history of the ancient Near East, ISSN 1566-2055 ; v. 46)
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 978-90-04-18295-0 (hbk. : acid-free paper)
1. Ostraka–Egypt–Catalogs. 2. Egyptian literature–Translations into English. 3. Didactic literature, Egyptian–Translations into English. 4. Egyptian philology. 5. Egypt–History–New Kingdom, ca. 1550-ca. 1070 B.C.–Sources–Catalogs. 6. Egypt–Antiquities–Catalogs. 7. Deir el-Medina Site (Egypt)–Antiquities–Catalogs. 8. Fitzwilliam Museum–Catalogs. I. Title.

PJ1675.H28 2011
016.493'1–dc22

2010044683

ISSN: 1566-2055
ISBN: 978 90 04 18295 0

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For Linnea; welcome

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PREFACE

The research on which this book is based was initiated towards the end of my tenure as Lady Wallis Budge Junior Research Fellow at Christ's College, Cambridge, but largely completed in Copenhagen during the academic year 2009–2010. The idea came after a cursory examination of the hieratic ostraca in the Fitzwilliam Museum, when it became clear that the majority were unpublished, and that only one or two were to be found in the famous notebooks of that *nestor* of hieratic, Jaroslav Černý—a rather unusual situation with a collection of this kind. Having decided to publish a catalogue of the ostraca, it soon became clear to me that the task was more demanding than I had at first thought. Deir el-Medina studies has become, to all intents and purposes, a specialised sub-field within Egyptology, and although I have worked with material from the site in the past, I had underestimated the specialised nature of publishing hieratic documents from the site. My own lack of experience was compensated for to no small degree by the support and assistance that I had throughout the work from a number of people, without which I might never have completed it. One of these was Richard Parkinson who first taught me the craft of text editing, of producing facsimile drawings and hieroglyphic transcriptions (I employ the system developed by him and his father), and who remains a constant source of inspiration. Rob Demarée and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert also provided much-needed assistance by checking my transcriptions and translations; both made valuable suggestions and corrected numerous mistakes. I am profoundly grateful to them for the time and effort they invested, and their kindness has improved the book considerably. I am also conscious of a debt of a more indirect kind to those who have worked on similar material in the past, and whose research forms the basis of my own in a very real sense: Jaroslav Černý, George Posener and Sir Alan H. Gardiner, as well as their modern heirs Pierre Grandet, Annie Gasse, Yvan Koenig, and (last but certainly not least) Robert Demarée and Hans-Werner Fischer-Elfert. Deir el-Medina studies in general, and the study of its textual record in particular, will always be in their debt, and it is all too easy to underestimate the scale of the work they have produced over the years. An old teacher of mine, in a review of a similar catalogue of ostraca, once described this as

> the slow, often thankless task of primary publication of the New Kingdom hieratic ostraca … [which] have often lain in museum collections for decades, typically cherry-picked for publication of the most obviously interesting examples, leaving the less legible, fragmentary, unpromising pieces. (Eyre 2000: 239)

There is some truth in this, but it is a necessary task, and perhaps not as fruitless as is sometimes thought, because research agendas and priorities change, and what seems irrelevant or uninteresting to one scholar may prove illuminating to another. An obvious point, perhaps, but still relevant: early philologists, like their archaeological colleagues, made choices about what to publish and what not to publish, based on their interests and sense of priorities, and even collections of material that were 'worked over' can retain important documents, much in the way that spoil-heaps of early archaeologists can be profitably explored by modern excavators.

In some cases I have been unable to read parts of an ostracon despite the ink being clearly visible (E.128.1900 is a case in point), but I have in such cases included facsimile drawings and partial transcriptions to facilitate further work. The only exception is E.GA.6384.1943, a flint ostracon with an extremely cursive administrative text which has been excluded for

chronological purposes (it dates to the Twenty-second Dynasty or later); I may publish this separately at a later date. Despite the help and support of the colleagues mentioned above, the book no doubt still contains errors and mistakes: needless to say these remain my own. I have tried to be consistent in my transcriptions and drawings (which broadly follow the guidelines established by Gardiner 1929), but it is perhaps inevitable in a work like this, completed in-between teaching, administrative duties and other research, that there will be aspects less rigorously uniform in appearance than one might wish for.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am grateful to the Keeper of Antiquities of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Lucilla Burns, for her permission to publish the collection, and to other staff members for their help in providing access to the material and for answering numerous queries about the objects: Sally-Ann Ashton, Helen Strudwick and Julie Dawson. The work was made possible in the first instance by the opportunities awarded me as a research fellow at Christ's College, and I am still conscious of the trust shown by the Master and Fellows of the College in electing me to that position, and the privileges that this entailed. The College also contributed more directly to the book in the form of a generous grant towards the cost of photography. The remainder of the cost of photography was borne by the Thomas Mulvey Egyptology Fund of the (then) Faculty of Oriental Studies, University of Cambridge, and I am grateful to its managers, John Ray and Barry Kemp, for their support. A final trip to Cambridge to collate my transcriptions in May 2010 was generously sponsored by the *Centre of Canon and Identity Formation in the Earliest Literate Societies* (CIF) of the University of Copenhagen, and its director, Kim Ryholt. Daniel Polz and the Deutsche Archäologische Institut in Cairo kindly agreed to the reproduction of the facsimile drawing by Heike Heye (née Guksch) of the ostracon from the tomb of Nakhtmin (TT87) which joins with E.57.1946. Finally I am grateful to Thomas Schneider as Editor-in-Chief of Brill's *Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* for accepting this book in the series. All photographs are © the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge; all transcriptions and facsimiles are by the author.

NOTES ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

The book follows the established Egyptological conventions in transliterating and transcribing hieratic:

[. . .] in transcriptions or translations indicates missing text in the original, and any letters or hieroglyphs enclosed by such brackets have been restored by me; the ellipsis is not an indication of the length of a lacuna.

(. . .) in translations indicates a word or phrase inserted by me for clarity but not present in the Egyptian.

⟨ . . . ⟩ in transcriptions and translations indicates an omission by the ancient scribe.

(i.e. hatching) in the hieroglyphic transcriptions indicates damaged or illegible text in the original.

Passages in the transcriptions and translations which have been <u>underlined</u> indicate the use of red ink in the original, and versepoints are indicated in the translations by a bullet point (•).

INTRODUCTION

Most museums with substantial collections of Egyptian objects include hieratic ostraca from the New Kingdom, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge is no exception. Many come from the sites where the inhabitants of the village of Deir el-Medina lived and worked, where limestone flakes and pottery sherds were in plentiful supply; in and around the village itself, alongside the route from the village to the work-sites in the Valley of the Kings (the 'huts on the col'), and from the work-sites themselves in both the Valley of the Kings and the Valley of the Queens. This is partly due to the local geology—the area is dominated by layers of limestone which come off in large white flakes providing a cheap, plentiful and efficient medium for writing—and partly to the fact that literacy rates at the village were exceptionally high. The result is that, to date, the village remains the single best-documented archaeological site in pharaonic history, both in terms of its archaeology (domestic and funerary) and social history (economy, religion, literature, legal system, gender, etc.). The ostraca, whose material form makes them more likely to survive in the archaeological record than for example papyrus, are a crucial part of this data-set, and their publication continues to remain a priority for the discipline. However, despite the concerted efforts of a number of scholars, much remains to be done: less than 25 % of the known hieratic ostraca have been published.[1] Even if one takes account of the fact that many of the collections have been "cherry-picked" by scholars in the past for the largest and/or most interesting pieces, the proportions are thought-provoking, and further work is needed: the current catalogue provides a small step in this direction.

The majority of hieratic ostraca in the Fitzwilliam Museum arrived as three lots, the first in 1926, the second in 1943, and the third in 1946. Individual pieces arrived both earlier and later than this: any information available about their provenance has been included under each object's entry. The first lot (E.67.1926–E.77.1926) were 'left in the museum by F.W. Green in 1926', according to the museum records. Frederick William Green (1869–1949) was an Egyptologist who had studied at Jesus College, Cambridge, who went on to excavate at various sites in Egypt, including Hierakonpolis. He was Honorary Keeper of Antiquities at the Fitzwilliam Museum from 1908 to his death in 1949, and it was during this time that he donated the ostraca (Dawson and Uphill 1995: 177). Not all of the ostraca donated by Green were hieratic, and one which was labelled as hieratic by the museum records (E.69.1926) proved on examination to be demotic instead, and has therefore been excluded from this catalogue.

[1] Out of about 13000 ostraca kept at the IFAO in Cairo (Gasse 1992: 51), just over 2000 have been published so far by Černý (1935–1951, 1970), Posener (1934; 1951-1952-1972; 1977-1978-1980), Sauneron (1959), Gasse (1990; 2005) and Grandet (2000; 2003; 2006). These are complemented by over a thousand ostraca from the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (about 300 of which are published; Černý 1935), just over 100 from the Michaelides collection (Goedicke and Wente 1962), c. 400 (including jar-labels) from the Ramesseum excavations (Spiegelberg 1898; Koenig 1997), c. 350 from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford and the Petrie Museum, London (Černý and Gardiner 1957), c. 570 from Museo Egizio, Turin (López 1978; 1980; 1982; 1984), c. 150 from the British Museum (Demarée 2002), c. 30 from the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow (McDowell 1993), as well as c. 150 from Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin (Burkard et al. 2002–2004). Even excluding the numerous smaller collections in places like Leipzig, Edinburgh, etc, and the 170 or so 18th Dynasty ostraca from the Deir el-Bahri area of Thebes (Hayes 1942; 1960), this brings the total of published ostraca to just over 4000, out of a known total of 17000+ (and probably more likely around 20000), which would correspond to less than 25 %.

The core of the collection consists of the second lot of ostraca which arrived at the museum in 1943 as part of the Gayer-Anderson bequest (E.GA. 6116.1943–E.GA.6142.1943). Robert Grenville Gayer-Anderson (1881–1945) was a British army surgeon who served with the Royal Airforce Medical Corps, and who was seconded to the Egyptian army in 1906. He lived in Egypt for many years, and upon retirement from the army became Senior Inspector in the Ministry of the Interior for the Egyptian Government, and subsequently Oriental Secretary to the High Commission in 1922. He continued to live in Cairo until 1942, when he returned to England for reasons of health. His long stay in Egypt kindled an interest in the Near East, and he became an avid collector of everything Oriental, including Egyptian antiquities (Dawson and Uphill 1995: 165). The collection is today widely dispersed, with parts on display at Little Hall, Lavenham, the English residence of Gayer-Anderson (and his twin brother), as well as at his house in Cairo, donated to the Egyptian state when he left the country in 1942 and today open to the public as the Gayer-Anderson Museum (Warner 2003). Much of his collection of ancient Egyptian objects (c. 7500 individual pieces in total) was given to the Fitzwilliam Museum when he left Egypt to return to England, including the famous Akhenaten jubilee relief (E.GA.2300.1943), and a fine Middle Kingdom relief fragment showing king Nebhepetre Mentuhotep (E.GA.3143.1943), while others were bequeathed to the museum upon his death in 1945. Several of the objects are today on display in the museum, identifiable by the accession numbers starting with 'E.GA' (as requested at the time by Gayer-Anderson himself). Many of the figured ostraca in his collection—at the time the most extensive private collection of its kind—went to Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm (149 pieces; Peterson 1974), as well as to the Fitzwilliam Museum (46 pieces, Brunner-Traut 1979), although it may be worth noting that the authenticity of some of the pieces has been questioned, a situation which is paralleled in the collection of hieratic ostraca published here (Goedicke 1983; Peck 1981; cf. Hagen 2010b for a discussion of the hieratic forgery on E.GA.6120.1943). The majority of the inscribed ostraca came to Cambridge, but some pieces remained as part of the Gayer-Anderson Museum in Cairo, of which one has so far been published (a magical text; Haikal 2009), and another (administrative) is currently being prepared for publication by Mohamed Sherif Ali of Cairo University.

The third lot of ostraca (E.56.1946–E.63.1946) were part of a bequest from Sir Robert Mond (1867–1938), a British chemist and archaeologist who had excavated in Egypt, in particular at Thebes, in the early 20th Century. He had gone up to Cambridge for his university degree, where he attended Peterhouse College (Warren and Uphill 1995: 292), which may explain why he donated the ostraca to the Fitzwilliam Museum. Apart from E.56.1946, which joins an ostracon found during the excavation of Theban Tomb no. 87 (Nakhtmin) and which is mentioned briefly in passing in Mond's preliminary excavation report of the same tomb (Mond 1905: 76), there is no information about the provenance of any of the pieces, not all of which need have come from his excavations (some were presumably bought from antiquities dealers over the years).

As few of the pieces stem from excavations, establishing their provenance is not straightforward. On purely statistical grounds the majority presumably come from Deir el-Medina, and at least some can be assigned to the village on internal evidence, such as personal names of individuals known to have lived there. However, some pieces appear not to have originated here, and these include one Eighteenth Dynasty ostracon which may belong to the finds from the Deir el-Bahri area (E.GA.6124.1943), and one which came from John Garstang's excavations at Abydos, from tomb 'E.158' (E.128.1900; Garstang 1901).

The majority of the ostraca have never been published, although one or two have made it into the Egyptological literature. Both E.GA.6128.1943 ('O. Cambridge 2') and E.GA.6130.1943 were copied by J. Černý in his notebooks, and the latter was subsequently included by K. Kitchen in his *Ramesside Inscriptions* (Kitchen 1975–1989: VIII, 190–192). Some of the ostraca carry

a short description of their contents written on the surface in pencil (e.g. E.GA.6134.1943: 'PRAYERS'), and this might be the work of Černý although I have been unable to locate transcriptions of any of these in his notebooks. Photos of another two (E.GA.103.1949 and E.4758.1943) were included in a catalogue of figured ostraca from the museum because they have drawings on the other side (Brunner-Traut 1979: 59, 72, pls. 25, 27), but in these cases no transcriptions were provided. C.J. Eyre looked at some of the ostraca in 1975/6 and made preliminary transcriptions of a selection; copies of these are on file at the museum, and I have consulted them in the course of my work.[2] In Eyre's notes there are also transcriptions of two ostraca which have proved impossible to locate in the museum collection, E.GA.6126.1943 and E.GA.6127.1943, both of which (according to his notes) contain sequences of dates (year 8 of an unnamed king: month 2 and 3 of Peret, and month 4 of Akhet, respectively).

The ostraca are presented in this catalogue in numerical order based on their museum numbers, with photographs, facsimile drawings, hieroglyphic transcriptions and translations with basic commentary. These brief presentations do not constitute text editions in the traditional sense, although they occupy a middle ground between such detailed treatments and the 'old-fashioned' catalogues which stopped at transcription. It is loosely based on the current form of the catalogue of the non-literary IFAO ostraca as produced by Pierre Grandet, whose choice of format (including the provision of translations) has done much to make the material accessible to non-specialists. The limitations of the catalogue format means that several pieces which might have warranted a more detailed study are treated in a rather cursory fashion, but at least they are made generally available to colleagues who will no doubt provide more in-depth studies in due course. It is difficult to highlight any particular object as more important or interesting than the others, not least because my own priorities may well differ significantly from those of others, but certain pieces stand out. On the one hand this includes literary texts like E.GA.6133.1943 which provides the only known parallel to the final part of the famous Amun-Re hymn of P. Boulaq 17, with some interesting variants; E.GA.6142.1943 which is a relatively rare example of a magical text on an ostracon (invoking various gods); E.GA.6140.1943 which contains fragmentary remains of medical recipes on what must have been a writing tablet. Previously unknown literary texts (including hymns) are partly preserved on E.GA.6134.1943, whereas E.GA.6119.1943 is one of the few known hieratic documents to mention the foreman Inherkhau (otherwise known almost exclusively from hieroglyphic monuments). E.GA.6130.1943 joins the previously published O. DeM 1722, which has a model letter on one side and a curious administrative text regarding quantities of wood on the other, perhaps in connection with palace building works; and E.GA.6140.1943 has a funerary text written with hieroglyphs around a rough sketch of Anubis (perhaps a trial piece for tomb decoration?). E.56.1946 is an interesting example of an ostracon with a mortuary text which can be traced both to a specific tomb (TT87, Nakhtmin) and to a specific inscription within that tomb, although the exact function of the ostracon is not clear (see the catalogue entry for a brief discussion). The collection also contains an example of a modern forgery of a hieratic inscription—several other copies of which were produced in the first half of the Twentieth Century—written, perhaps unknowingly, upon a genuinely ancient object, a jar-lid (E.GA.6122.1943): for a more in-depth study of this piece, comparing it with the known parallels and discussing the history of these forgeries, see Hagen (2010b). Like most collections of hieratic ostraca, the Fitzwilliam Museum includes fragments of the classical literary compositions in circulation in New Kingdom Egypt: *The Instruction of a Man for his Son*, *The Instruction of Khety*, *The Hymn to the Nile* (the latter two identified by H.-W. Fischer-Elfert)

[2] These include E.GA.6116.1943, E.GA.6119.1943, E.GA.6121.1943, E.GA.6123.1943, E.GA.6124.1943, E.GA.6128.1943, E.GA.6130.1943, E.GA.6132.1943, E.GA.6134.1943, E.GA.6135.1943, E.GA.6137.1943, E.GA.6138.1943, E.GA.6139.1943 and E.GA.6142.1943.

and *The Instruction of Kairsu*, as well as didactic texts like *Kemit*. In addition to this there are several administrative documents, including fragments of what seem to be juridical texts (perhaps narratives of court proceedings), as well as name lists, letters, and sequences of dates. As always with Deir el-Medina, it is the sum of the evidence that makes it such a rewarding site for the study of the social and economic history of New Kingdom Egypt, and although this catalogue adds little more than 40 ostraca to the known corpus, the majority have never before been available and so they increase, however modestly, our knowledge of this extraordinary village and its inhabitants.

CATALOGUE

E.56.1946 (+ O. TT87)

(Plates 1–2)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 18 × 20 cm, with six vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs on the front and six columns on the back, all in black ink with black dividing lines.

Contents: The ostracon contains parts of the mortuary texts found in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Nakhtmin (TT87) at Thebes (for the tomb inscription see Guksch 1995: pl. 17, columns 61–63, 66–68; cf. Gestermann 2005: I, 164–165; II, 21–32, 115–127). The inscription in the tomb is a mixture of various Pyramid Texts (PT 257–261, 262–263, 269–275), Coffin Texts (CT 154, 155, 349, 353, 451, 179, 335) and Book of the Dead spells (BD 60, 174, 131), and the passage preserved on E.56.1946 + O. TT87 incorporates parts of PT 275 and CT 179 (cf. Guksch 1995: 75), as well as an otherwise unparalleled text. The restorations in square brackets are based on the text as preserved on the wall of TT87, and the translation is tentative at best. I refrain from a full philological commentary because a detailed study of these ostraca is being prepared by Barbara Lüscher in Basel, but a few preliminary observations may be useful. Preserved parallels to the initial part (= PT 275 and CT 179) show the present text to be extremely corrupt and almost incomprehensible in places, and in the case of the latter half of the text, for which I know of no parallels, the interpretation is even more tenuous. The phrase *gm wš*, 'found missing' (in lines x+1 and x+4), is a metatextual comment on the state of the master copy on which the ostracon was based, and is a technical terms often used to indicate a lacuna in a *Vorlage* (e.g. von Lieven 2007: 210). Some preliminary remarks about the relationship between the text as found on the ostraca and the text as finally inscribed on the tomb wall may be appropriate. This is identical in most cases with only minor variants, some of which are purely orthographic (e.g. in column 62 for on E.56.1946), while others are clearly mistakes (e.g. the omission of in column 67 of the tomb inscription, for *ỉnk ḥry-ỉb ḥwt bnbn* of O. TT87, verso, line x+7). However, the layout of the text on the ostraca does not match that of the inscription on the wall: in several cases there are column breaks in the latter where the ostraca have a continuous text (this is also true of the text on UC 13248). Consequently, the ostraca were not used to lay out the text before transferring it to the wall itself, and the size and weight of the Fitzwilliam piece suggests that it was too unwieldy for a hand-held copy to be used by the draughtsmen during the decoration of the tomb.

E.56.1946 was found during Robert Mond's excavation of Theban Tomb no. 87 during the winter of 1903–1904, along with another ostracon now in the Petrie Museum in London (UC 13248, unpublished) which also has lines from the same inscription (Mond 1905: 76; the text corresponds to Guksch 1995: pl. 17 columns 77–80). The Fitzwilliam ostracon came to the museum as part of the Mond bequest (cf. Introduction), while the London piece also seems to have been left to the Petrie Museum by Mond upon his death (cf. Raisman 1988: 191). The Fitzwilliam ostracon joins an ostracon found during the modern re-excavation of TT87 ('O.TT87'; Guksch 1995: 75, pl. 20 nos. c, d), confirming that Mond's passing remark about

having found 'drafts of the text [i.e. the funerary inscription in the shaft] on limestone ostraka' (1905: 76) must refer to E.56.1946 and UC 13248. I am grateful to two colleagues for input on this piece: the discovery of the provenance of the Fitzwilliam ostracon was made following a suggestion by Alexandra von Lieven, and Rune Nyord provided useful comments on the translation of the unparalleled text on the back of the ostracon.

Translation:

x+1 [… traces only …]
x+2 Re has washed in the Field of] Reeds, the royal scribe [Nakhtmin, the justified] has washed [in the Field of Reeds;]
x+3 O Nut, receive him; O Shu, pull ⟨him⟩up; [O Shu, pull him up]
x+4 ⟨Bringing⟩ bread for a man in the necropolis. O Great One, foremost in houses, who gives bread [to
x+5 Ptah] in Iunu, give me bread and be[er];
x+6 my breakfast ⟨is⟩ a shin of beef, […*found missing* …]
x+7 roast beef and *sꜣšrt*-bread (?) *found missing* […]

Back

x+1 […I have come] forth *found missing* […]
x+2 […I am] the scales of Horus *found missing* […]
x+3 I have […] for him, I made the lord [*found missing*]
x+4 when he moored; I am
x+5 his father in Heliopolis *found missing* in the domain
x+6 of the *bnbn*-stone in Heliopolis, [I am his brother to (*sic*) the sky *found missing*,]
x+7 I am the one who is in the domain of the *bnbn*-stone [*found missing* Iunu, I am *found missing* pure]
x+8 your bread, very much (*sp-sn*?). I am [the flame, I am he who divides]
x+9 the fire […]

Commentary:

Back, line x+2: Reading *mḫꜣ⟨.t⟩*, 'scales', with the *š*-sign as a corruption of the determinative for a scale. I am not aware of any other references to the 'scales of Horus'.

Back, line x+8: The meaning of *wpp ḫt*, 'he who divides the fire' is not clear, but could perhaps be compared to the rubrics of BD 18 and 20 which refer to the deceased 'escaping from the fire' (e.g. Allen 1974: 34, 36).

E.57.1946

(Plate 3)

Description: A limestone ostracon, probably of the Eighteenth Dynasty, measuring c. 6 × 7 cm, with four lines of hieratic on the front, in black ink. The back is empty.

Contents: Administrative.

Translation:

1 […] Nisu […]
2 […] my great work-quota […]
3 […traces only …]
4 […traces only …]

E.58.1946

(Plate 3)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 17 × 15 cm, with two lines of hieratic in black ink on the front; the back is empty.

Contents: A name and a title.

Translation:

1 The scribe of the offering table Nebnetjeru,
2 who is called the scribe Turi [...]

Commentary:

Line 1: On the title *sš wdḥw*, 'scribe of the offering-table', see Quirke (2004: 123).

E.63.1946

(Plate 4)

Description: A pottery sherd, gray/white in colour and measuring c. 11 × 6 cm, with two columns of hieroglyphs in black ink on the front; the back is not inscribed.

Contents: Phrases from a tomb inscription (?).

Translation:

1 Travelling through the deserts, traversing the mountains [...]
2 [... traces only ...]

Commentary:

Column 1: The phrases *ḫns ḫ3swt*, 'travelling through the deserts', and *hbhb ḏw*, 'traversing the mountains', frequently appear in autobiographical texts in connection with hunting. This includes several Theban tombs of the New Kingdom, which would presumably have been accessible to Deir el-Medina workmen (*Urk*. IV, 451.4–5, 955.14–15, 1062.4), and the use of hieroglyphs also suggests that a funerary context is the most plausible origin of this piece, either as a copy or as a draft.

E.67.1926

(Plate 4)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 10 × 7 cm, with three faint lines of hieratic in black ink on the front; the back is empty.

Contents: Literary / religious.

Translation:

x+1 [...] the inundation in Thebes [...]
x+2 [...] in Thebes [...]
x+3 [...] the [...]

Commentary:

Too little is preserved of the text to identify the genre with certainty, although the hand is clearly literary. The mention of the 'inundation' (*bʿḥ*) and something happening 'in Thebes' (*m wꜣst*; twice) might suggest a religious composition, perhaps a hymn.

E.68.1926

(Plate 5)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 19 × 9 cm, with 13 lines of hieratic on the front; the back is empty. The ink is frequently very faint, and there is some dirt covering parts of the text, but attempts to remove it by conservators were only moderately successful. Close observation of the original confirmed several readings that seemed speculative based on the photograph.

Contents: A didactic (?) literary text.

Translation:

1 If he knew
2 the writings it would be
3 as something good for you [...]
4 [...] You should not
5 take [...] great [...]
6 take [...] without saying [...]
7 'Enemies [...]', after saying [...]
8 you should not [...]
9 [...] to the Residence [...]
10 do it, [...] would not want [...]
11 to you the day [...]
12 [...]
13 [...] evil ... disappear (?) [...]

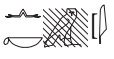
Hieratic commentary:

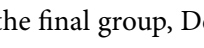
Line 3: There are clear traces of the tail of at the beginning of the line; the traces after *n=k* are illegible.

Line 4: The three final signs are clear; perhaps should be restored immediately before, yielding a negative *ỉmỉ=k* pattern, possibly governing the verb *ỉṯ* in the following line (assuming that little is lost at the left hand edge).

Line 5: The reading of the first group is problematic. It could perhaps be a rare New Kingdom example of *ỉmỉ* (line 3 end) written with a determinative (here) as found in later inscriptions (e.g. the Ptolemaic stela BM EA 190, col. 22; Sharpe 1837: pl. 11, line 4); compare also the writing in the late Twenty-first Dynasty copy of *Ani* in P. Boulaq 4, 15.12 (= Cairo CG 58042; Quack 1994: 283).

Line 6: The traces at the end are faint but might be compatible with as expected if the beginning of line 7 is a direct continuation.

Line 8: Traces at the beginning of the line suggest the restoration  , but the rest is largely illegible.

Line 13: The ink of the final line is much clearer than on the rest of the ostracon, but unfortunately still difficult to read. For the final group, Demarée suggests  , *3s sp-sn*, 'quickly, quickly'.

Commentary:

Line 1: The beginning is difficult. If there is nothing missing, the most plausible grammatical interpretation would be to see this as a conditional *ỉr* followed by a subject + stative construction. I do not know of other examples of this, but the combination *ỉr* + *sḏm.n=f* is attested, albeit rarely (Gardiner 1957: 117, § 151; 'employed to express an unfulfilled condition'), and the use of stative may simply be a semantic variant.

Line 7: On the construction *m-s3 ḏd*, compare *Man for his Son* § 22.5 (Fischer-Elfert 1999: 242).

E.70.1926

(Plate 6)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 6 × 10 cm, with three lines of hieratic in black ink on the front; the back is empty. There is a faint red line across the front, approximately 25 mm from the right hand edge; this may or may not be ancient.

Contents: Religious (a hymn?).

Translation:

x+1 [. . .] forever in your joy [. . .]
x+2 [. . . ward off] your trouble. Amun-Re removes [affliction? . . .]
x+3 [. . .] *pesa*-loaf [. . .]

Commentary:

Line x+2: The restoration of *3hw*, 'affliction' or 'misery' (*Wb.* I, 12.4–6) towards the end is almost certain. Gods are frequently described as 'removing misery' (*dr 3hw*), albeit primarily in late sources: in a Ptolematic copy of the *Lamentations of Isis and Nephtys* (P. Berlin 3008, 3.6–7), Nephtys addresses Osiris with the words 'may you remove all the misery which is in our hearts' (*dr=k 3hw nb nty m ỉbw=n*; Faulkner 1934: 339, pl. II lines 3–4); in a Twenty-second Dynasty hymn to Amun-Re-Horakhty (P. Berlin P 3050, 9.9), that god is described as one who 'removes misery' (*dr=f 3hw*, Sauneron 1953: 70, 90; cf. Knigge 2006: 156), and in a Thirtieth Dynasty inscription from Ashmoun in the Delta (Cairo JdE 45936) a god, possibly Re, 'removed the misery' of a goddess (*dr.n=f 3hw=s*; Daressy 1916: 228). The *Wb.* (I, 12) notes the spelling *ỉhw* in the Eighteenth Dynasty, as opposed to *3hw* in Middle Kingdom sources, but certainly all the late sources cited above spell the word with an initial aleph.

Line x+3: The margin between this last line and the line above is larger than that between the first two, and may indicate that it belongs to a different composition.

E.71.1926

(Plate 6)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 9 × 10 cm, with five lines of hieratic on the front and some large illegible scribbles on the back, all in black ink. There are two versepoints on the front.

Contents: *The Hymn to the Nile*, § 7 (= x+2; cf. Van der Plas 1986: II, 68).

Translation:

x+1 [. . .]
x+2 [(Hapy), who makes one person powerful] but kills another;• there is no arguing [with him,]
x+3 [who creates satisfaction]; there is no intimidating [him,]
x+4 [whose] limits [none can establish.]•

Commentary:

Line x+2: For the variant *sm3* with the determinatives , see O. DeM 1053 (Posener 1938: pl. 29 + 29a; there corrected in red ink, so a conscious redactional variant, not a mistake).

Line x+4: The text ends with the determinatives of *t3š*, 'limits', and there are no further traces after the versepoint. This is the end of section VII, a division based on the presence of dates in red inserted at this point in two manuscripts (O. Leipzig 29 and O. DeM 1053), and the use of rubra for the following stanza in seven others (van der Plas 1986: II, 71).

E.72.1926

(Plate 7)

Description: A limestone flake measuring c. 9 × 11 cm, with two lines of stylised hieroglyphs in black ink on the front; the back is not inscribed.

Contents: Two falcons, two ducks, a sedge, and a bee.

Translation:

N/A

E.74.1926

(Plate 7)

Description: A pottery sherd measuring c. 15 × 8 cm, with two columns of hieroglyphs in black ink on the front; the back is not inscribed.

Contents: The start of a hymn, possibly copied from (or for) a monumental inscription.

Translation:

1 Giving praise to Re [who rises]
2 in the eastern sky, by [. . .]

Commentary:

Line 1: For the restoration, compare the epithets *wbn ḥr ỉ3btt nt pt*, 'who rises in the eastern sky', and *wbn m 3ḫt ỉ3btt nt pt*, 'who rises in the horizon of the eastern sky', both of which are attested for Re in the New Kingdom (Leitz 2002: II, 303–304).

E.75.1926

(Plate 8)

Description: A pottery sherd measuring c. 15 × 12 cm, with five lines of hieratic in black ink on the front (i.e. on the outside); the back is empty.

Contents: Perhaps a prayer or a hymn?

Translation:

x+1 [… illegible traces …]
x+2 […] you have forgotten their fields, the wa[ves …]
x+3 […] every head is in the cana[l …]
x+4 […] sailing for the sweet water to […]
x+5 […] sand.

Commentary:

Line x+2: The final two signs are *h3*; perhaps restore *h3[nw]*, 'wave' (*Wb*. II, 481.10) based on the nautical imagery in the lines below.

Line x+3: The reading of *dhn* is certain, but the meaning is not; the qualifier *nb* may suggest a literal interpretation of it as '(fore)head' (*Wb*. V, 478. 6). The restoration *srm[.t]*, 'canal' is probable; the only other New Kingdom occurrence of the word is in the *Onomasticon of Amenemope* (Gardiner 1947: I, 6*).

Line x+4: The expression *ḫd n mw nḏm*, 'sailing for the sweet water', is otherwise unknown. It sounds idiomatic, but the meaning is uncertain. The writing *ḫt* for *ḫd* is unusual this early but common in later inscriptions (cf. *Wb*. III, 354).

E.76.1926

(Plate 54)

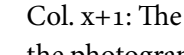
Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 8 × 9 cm, with two columns of large cursive hieroglyphs written in red ink, with red dividing lines.

Contents: *Kemit*, §§II–III.

Translation:

x+1 [may your voice be justified before the powers of Heliopolis, and before all the gods. May they give you life], may they do for you everything [good every day, like this servant wishes.]
x+2 Your condition [is like living a million times …]

Hieratic commentary:

Col. x+1: The pronoun  is a correction, and the original mistake complicates the reading in the photograph.

Commentary:

The text preserves the middle section of §II in column x+1 and the first signs of §III in column x+2 (cf. Posener 1951-1952-1972: pls. 1–2) of the well-known didactic composition *Kemit* (cf. Wente 1990: 15–16; Parkinson 2002: 322–325).

E.77.1926

(Plate 54)

Description: A pottery sherd, measuring c. 7 × 7 cm, with three lines of hieratic in black ink on the front; the back is empty. There are no versepoints.

Contents: A fragment of *The Instruction of Khety* (= *Satire of the Trades*, Helck 1970: §VIIa–d = Jäger 2004: 'Kapitel' 7.1–3).

Translation:

x+1 [The barber] is shaving [even to the end of the evening,]
x+2 [he takes his bag (?), and he puts it around] his neck (?), [he takes himself from street to street]
x+3 [looking for people to shave, he] destroys [his arms in order to fill his belly …]

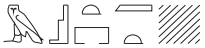
Commentary:

Line x+2: The beginning of line 2 with as the determinatives of *(ʿm)ʿm.t* is rare, but it is paralleled by at least one other copy (Posener 1977-1978-1980: pl. 35).

E.103.1949

(Plates 9, 55)

Description: A limestone flake measuring c. 13 × 16 cm, with five lines of hieratic on the back, in black ink. The front has a drawing of a goat, and underneath this are palimpsest traces of seven lines of hieratic. Below the drawing are very faint traces of hieroglyphs in black ink, giving the "signature" of the artist:

These are probably to be read  '[Made by the servant?] in the place of Truth […]', with the name now illegible (I owe this observation to the keen eyes of R.J. Demarée).

Contents: The text on the front is administrative in nature, although only the first line is legible, and this mentions the handing out of rations. The back lists amounts required or produced yearly and monthly of fish and firewood. The ostracon was included in the catalogue of figured ostraca published by Brunner-Traut (1979: 59, pl. 27) who noted that the back contained 'an account concerned with quantities of fish and wood—probably rations for the necropolis workmen', but she did not provide a transcription or translation of the text (for a preliminary transcription based on the published photograph see Goedicke 1983: 235).

Translation:

1 [Year] 8 (?), first month of […]. On this day: giving *dỉ.w*-rations to the crew (?) […]
2–7 […. illegible …]

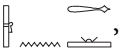
Back

1 List of fish of the monthly quota.
2 Fish: 240 deben.
3 Yearly quota of fish: 2880 deben.

4 List of firewood of the monthly quota. Firewood: 360
5 Yearly quota of firewood: 4320 for the [foreman of the crew (?)].

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: The beginning of the dating formula is lost, and the year number is uncertain. The reading , 'the crew' is largely conjectural but would suit the traces.

Back, line 5: The title at the end is difficult to read, but [...]  , 'foreman', is probable.

Commentary:

Line 1: For the technical term *dì.w*, 'rations' or 'wages', cf. Häggman (2002: 81–83), Gardiner (1948: 118 n. 1), Caminos (1954: 198).

E.128.1900

(Plate 10)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 19 × 10 cm, with thirteen lines of hieratic on the front; the back is empty. The hand is very cursive, and combined with the poor condition of the surface of the ostracon it is very difficult to read. According to the museum records it came from Abydos, and there is a note reading 'rest of tomb group Garstang, *El-Arabah*, p. 44' as part of the entry, with 'Egyptian Research Account' written underneath. The volume in question, John Garstang's *El-Arábah: A cemetery of the Middle Kingdom; survey of the Old Kingdom temenos; Graffiti from the temple of Seti* (1901), includes no mention of the ostracon. The object has the number 'E.158' written on it with a pen, which presumably refers to 'tomb E.158' of the Garstang excavation; other objects found in this tomb include a plaster face, a heart-scarab belonging to a man called Ipusheri ( ), three kohl-vessels of alabaster, serpentine and blue marble, an elaborate wooden vessel of four cylinders, and various types of pottery 'of foreign influence and uncertain origin' (Garstang 1901: 15, 44, pls. XXI, XXIX). The tomb was dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty by Garstang (1901: 18) based on the pottery; the ostracon seems rather later based on the palaeography and may have been a secondary deposit.

Contents: Administrative, mentioning various names, areas of land and numbers of trees. Much of the text remains illegible; with the exception of the personal names I owe most readings to R.J. Demarée.

Translation:

x+1 [... illegible ...]
x+2 Aroura: [...]
x+3 Aroura: [...] 3
x+4 Tjauway, aroura: 18, 1 cedar tree [...]
x+5 Again, in it: 6 sycamore trees (*nḥ3*) and 2 cedar trees.
x+6 ???
x+7 [...] Aurora: 1, aurora: 11, aurora: 5+ [...]
x+8 [...] 1. Cedar trees:
x+9 Sauy: 1
x+10 Saa [...] 1
x+11 [...] 1
x+12 Auay: 1
x+13 Hen[...] 2

E.4758.1943

(Plate 56)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 15 × 20 cm, with five columns of cursive hieroglyphs in black ink on the front; the back is not inscribed. The columns are divided by lines in red ink, with horizontal dividing lines at the end of each section; it is virtually complete at top and bottom. There is a drawing of a crocodile-headed god (Sobek?) to the right of the text, first drawn in red ink and then traced in black. In her catalogue of the figured ostraca in the collection, Brunner-Traut (1979: 72 no. 42, pl. xxxv) reported faint traces of a drawing of the head and shoulders of a male, wearing a headband and a necklace, to the left of the text—these are barely visible now.

Contents: *Kemit*, §§I–III.

Translation:

1 A servant speaks to his lord, may he be loved, alive, well
2 and healthy, in eternity and for all time, like
3 this servant wishes. May your voice [be true] before the powers of Iunu and
4 before all the gods, may they give you life, and do
5 everything good for you every day, like this servant wishes.

Hieratic commentary:

Column 3: The middle of the column is rubbed out; restore [ ].

Commentary:

Column 5: A red 'end' sign ( ) has been inserted at the bottom, and the first signs of the next stanza are also rubricised.

E.4761.1943

(Plate 11)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 13 × 18 cm, with traces of four columns of cursive hieroglyphs in black ink on the back. The columns are divided by lines in red ink. The front (not reproduced here) has detailed drawings of two quail chicks: 'the young birds have been carefully drawn in outline, with the addition of a few more lines, to indicate the face, wings and downy feathers. Below are illegible traces of red and black lines' (Brunner-Traut 1979: 71 no. 41, pl. xxxiv). I cannot reconcile the traces with the transcription presented by Goedicke (1983: 235), although this might be explained by the poor quality of the photograph with which he worked.

Contents: *Kemit*, §XIV (?)

Translation:

1 [...]
2 [...]
3 [... one efficient for his lord, skilful] in his hour [...]
4 [...]

Commentary:

Very few signs are legible, but based on the formal layout of the text, as well as typographical features (e.g. red dividing lines, cursive hieroglyphic script), one would expect a composition like *Kemit* (Posener 1951-1952-1972: pls. 1–21), and the traces in the third column are compatible with §XIV of that text. However, the traces immediately preceding do not seem to match the expected . On the final paragraphs of *Kemit*, see now Ritter and Mathieu (2008).

E.P.489

(Plate 12)

Description: A pottery sherd in three parts, measuring c. 14 × 8 cm in total, from a shallow dish of approximately 75 mm in diameter, with four lines of hieratic on the front (i.e. the outside of the dish). The interior is burnt but carries no traces of any text.

Contents: A letter or message.

Translation:

1 [...]
2 [...] saying to Pa[ser ...]
3 from him, you not sending it to Paser [...]
4 and bread. Why? The [...]

E.GA.6116.1943

(Plate 13)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 11 × 13 cm, with seven lines of hieratic in black ink on the front, and faint traces of four illegible lines on the back.

Contents: Legal document mentioning the local juridical court (*ḳnbt*) and an oath (?); much of the text is difficult, and both my transcription and translation are tentative.

Translation:

x+1 [...] to the settlement [...]
x+2 [...] my father. Now as for the [...]
x+3 [...] for the collection (?). As for the [...]
x+4 [...] 'What does it mean?', she said before the court [...]
x+5 [...] likewise the Qenbet towards us [...]
x+6 [...] likewise the Qenbet. As the ruler, the justified, endures (?) [...]
x+7 [...] 3 [...]

Hieratic commentary:

Line x+1: The first signs are difficult to interpret and I have left them untranscribed. The final group is probably , *t3 wḥt*, 'the settlement'; an alternative might be to read , an abbreviated spelling of *t3 wnwt*, 'at once', but this is generally preceded by the preposition *m*, not *n* (*Wb.* I, 316.11), and the standard orthography in Ramesside hieratic is or similar (cf. e.g. P. Bologna 1094, 9.4; P. Anastasi III, 7.1; P. Anastasi IV, 11.1; P. Sallier I, 9.5; Gardiner 1937: 8.14, 28.6, 46.11, 87.12).

Line x+3: The initial signs are uncertain, and the reading of the final groups escapes me.

Line x+6: The second half of the line is problematic, and I am not confident in my transcription. The final group is certainly , and before this the end of a cartouche is clear. The tall sign immediately after *ḳnbt* looks like . If these readings are accepted, then this is probably an oath-formula, based on the following observations of its attested forms in the examples collected by Wilson (1948: 132–151): (1) the orthography is standardised in New Kingdom hieratic (I know of no examples of the oath-formula where this is written differently), so despite the unusual forms of the latter two signs here, the reading is perhaps just possible; (2) examples where the word 'ruler' is followed by an epithet or honorific phrase such as *ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb*, 'life, prosperity, health', or *ʿnḫ ḏt*, 'living forever', are common, but such epithets are not found in connection with gods' names (making the palaeographically possible reading , unlikely); (3) the orthography of the word 'ruler' is standardised in oath formulas as , so despite the abbreviated shapes of the signs, this too is the most plausible reading. There are objections, however. Firstly, and perhaps most significantly, I know of only one New Kingdom example of the oath-formula where the word for 'ruler' is not preceded by the definite article *pꜣ*, and this is a hieroglyphic inscription from an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb (TT 67, of Hepusoneb) where the word for 'ruler' is not *ḥḳꜣ*, as usually, but *nsw*, 'king' (*Urk*. IV, 488.17; the name of the king in the cartouche has been erased but was presumably that of Hatshepsut). Secondly, there are no other examples of the epithet *mꜣʿ ḫrw*, 'justified', used after the word 'ruler' in oath-formulas, although this could be explained by the narrative context here, if the king in the reported oath was now dead. In conclusion, my transcription is not certain but I fail to see plausible alternatives.

Commentary:

Line x+3: The meaning of the rare word *nḥb* is uncertain; perhaps 'collection' or similar (cf. *Wb*. II, 291.1–7). In Deir el-Medina texts it generally appears in the context of an institution called , 'place of *nḥb*', belonging to the Ramesseum and associated with staff members like *rwḏw*, 'agents', and *ỉdnw*, 'deputies' (Pleyte and Rossi 1869–1876: vol. II, pls. 50.1–2, 76.2), but whether there is any connection to the present occurrence of the word is uncertain.

Line x+4: For the construction *sw mỉ ỉḫ*, 'what does it mean?' (lit. 'it is like what'), if this is the correct reading, see the *Annals* of Tuthmose III (*Urk*. IV, 649.15), and P. Anastasi I, 18.7, 20.7, 28.4 (Fischer-Elfert 1992: 124, 131, 156). The construction *ḫr=s*, 'she said', is too common in legal documents to require comment. I take the second *ḫr* as a preposition introducing the circumstances of the speech act rather than the theme of the speech, as this is generally introduced by *r*, 'about', after *ḫr* (cf. e.g. P. Mayer A, verso 4.16–17; *ỉḫ ḫr=k r ḫrw pr-ʿꜣ ỉ.ṯꜣ=k*, 'What do you say about the tombs of Pharaoh which you robbed?'; Peet 1920).

E.GA.6117.1943

(Plates 14–15)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 11 × 10 cm, with eight lines of hieratic in black ink on the front and three on the back. If the ostracon originally contained all the dates implied by the sequence continued on the verso (days 23–30 of 3 Peret on the recto, followed by days 21–23 of 4 Peret on verso), then it represents not much more than the lower 1/3 of the original piece (e.g. days 1–20 of Peret 4 are missing on the verso).

Contents: Administrative; dates with quantities of grain measured in *oipe*.

Translation:

1 [3rd month of Peret, day 23], grain: 1 ½ *oipe*
2 3rd month of Peret, day 14 (sic), grain: 1 ½ *oipe*
3 3rd month of Peret, day 25, grain: 1 ½ *oipe*
4 3rd month of Peret, day 16 (sic), grain: 1 ½ *oipe*
5 3rd month of Peret, day 27, grain: 1 ½ *oipe*
6 3rd month of Peret, day 18 (sic), grain: 2 ½ *oipe*
7 3rd month of Peret, day 19 (sic), grain: 2 ½ *oipe*
8 3rd month of Peret, day 30 grain: [...] *oipe*

Back

1 4th month of Peret, day 21, grain: 2 ½ *oipe*
2 4th month of Peret, day 22, grain: 2 ½ *oipe*
3 4th month of Peret, day 23, grain: [...] *oipe*

Commentary:

Line 8: The text on the recto ends with 'Month three of Peret, last day' (3 *prt ʿrḳy*), i.e. the 30th day, which suggests that the scribe got some of the numbers in the sequence above wrong. In several cases (lines 2, 4, 6 and 7) he seems to have written numbers by mistake (14 for 24, 16 for 26, etc), but as Janssen (2005) has shown, inaccuracies with numbers are not uncommon in administrative documents.

E.GA.6118.1943

(Plate 16, 57)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 6×9 cm, with seven lines of hieratic on the front and four lines on the back. The front has several sections of the text crossed out in either red (line two) or black (line three). The back has four faint lines, of which two (lines one and three) have been crossed out.

Contents: Administrative; various notes concerning commodities.

Translation:

x+1 [...] Remaining: makes 2 *khar*
x+2 [...] soles (?): 3. Sandals: [...]
x+3 [...] ~~3 *hin*~~. Fat [...]
x+4 [...] Remaining: makes ½ *khar* (?)
x+5 [...] 1. Remaining Mats: 2. ~~Grain basket, 1~~. Bask[et ...]
x+6 [...] Remaining: makes 1 *deben* (?) Remaining: makes 2 deben (?)
x+7 [...] wood [...]

Back

x+1 [...] ~~4~~ [...]
x+2 [...] Remaining: [...]
x+3 [...] ~~*bit* cakes: 90~~ [...]
x+4 [...] 3 *khar* [...]

Commentary:

Line x+1: The reading is confirmed by the other entries in red which are clear (cf. lines x+4 and x+5 below).

Line x+5: The beginning of the line has illegible traces of two signs, followed by the numeral '1'. The sign has been added above the line in red. At the end, restore something like [ ].

Line x+6: The first entry seems to have , *dbn*, rather than the unit *ḫ3r*, as in the other 'remainder' entries, although the ink is faint.

Line x+7: I cannot read the first signs; the second word is certainly *ḫt*, 'wood'. The next entry is also illegible.

Commentary:

Line x+1: On , *mn*, 'remaining', see Gardiner (1941: 49–50).

Line x+2: (*rd*) is probably to be translated 'soles' (Hagen 2010a: 197; *pace* Janssen 2008: 100).

Line x+3: The exact nature of *mrḥt* is disputed, but seems often to have had a generic meaning of 'fat', 'ointment', 'oil', or similar; see Koura (1999: 114–123) for a discussion of the relevant material, and cf. Sherman (1981: 96).

Line x+5: The *kbs*, 'grain basket' was a fibre basket of a standardised size, the volume of which was 2 *oipe*, or just under 40 litres; Janssen (1975: 133) noted that the use of the word for this object may be local to Deir el-Medina. On the *mnḏm*-basket, see Janssen (1975: 147–149).

Back, line x+3: *Bit*-cakes were amongst the most common type of bread delivered to Deir el-Medina, and although the number here is high it is not implausibly so.

E.GA.6119.1943

(Plates 17–18)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 8 × 11 cm. There are ten lines of hieratic on the front, and five lines on the back, all written in black ink. The front contains two columns, separated by a red dividing line.

Contents: The front and back contain lists of names of workmen from the left side of the gang at Deir el-Medina. The senior officers mentioned in the text—the foreman Inherkhau and the scribe Qenherkhepshef—show that the ostracon dates to the end of the reign of Ramesses II or early in the reign of Merenptah (cf. Davies 1999: 16). A comparison of the names of the workmen with those found in the corpus of the late Nineteenth Dynasty ostraca discussed by Collier (2004) confirms this by showing only a partial overlap.

Translation:

Front, column I

1 [Left side (?)]
2 The foreman Inherkhau
3 The scribe Qenherkhepshef
4 Pendua
5 Hornefer
6 Sawadjet
7 Horemwia
8 Nakhy
9 Wadjmose
10 [… traces only …]

Column II

1 Hehnakhu
2 Nakhtmin
3 Pennub
4 Paneb
5 Amenmose
6 Any

Back

1 Wennefer
2 Buqentuf
3 Mery[sekhmet?]
4 Iy⟨er⟩niutef
5 Ramessesnakht

Hieratic commentary:

Back, line 3: I have restored Mery[sekhmet] which would suit the traces; compare the writing of that name on O. CGC 25784, line 4 (Černý 1935: pl. 105).

Back, line 4: The writing of the name is certain; the expected *r* has been omitted.

Commentary:

Line I.2: On the foreman Inherkhau (i), son of Qaha (i), the owner of Theban tomb no. 299 (PM^2 I.1, 380), see Davies (1999: 16). This is the only known source where his title is given, and is only his second appearance (in his capacity as foreman) in the official documentation; he appears on O. Strasbourg H. 110 (Koenig 1997: pls. 38–39), but there without a title. Consequently, it is not known when he was promoted to foreman, and suggestions have included a date late in the second half of the reign of Ramesses II (he appears as a regular workman in year 40) or even the first years of Merenptah (Davies 1999: 16).

Line I.3: Qenherkhepshef (i), son of Panakht (ii), is one of the best attested individuals of the village of Deir el-Medina, and served as a scribe from year 40 of Ramesses II to year one of Siptah, a period of about 40–45 years (Davies 1999: 84–86).

Line I.4: This Pendua is probably to be identified with Pendua (iii) who appears in several ostraca from Deir el-Medina around year 40 of Ramesses II (Davies 1999: 65).

Line I.5: It is uncertain who this Hornefer is. Davies (1999: 88) suggests that of the three individuals with that name, Hornefer (i) and (ii) lived in the first half of the reign of Ramesses II, and that Hornefer (iii)—who may or may not have been a descendant of Hornefer (i) and (ii)—lived towards the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty. This latter individual is most plausibly to be identified with the Hornefer in E.GA.6119.1943.

Line I.7: This Horemwia may be the individual by the same name which appears on several ostraca dated to between years 32 and 40 of Ramesses II (Davies 1999: 11). An individual with this name is also listed alongside the scribe Qenherkhepshef (cf. line two) in a graffito (K*RI* IV: 185.6). Which of the several individuals with this name he corresponds to is not certain but the 'unidentified workman' attested in the late Nineteenth Dynasty ostraca just mentioned is one possibility (cf. Davies 1999: 12).

Line I.8: Nakhy is perhaps to be identified with Nakhy (vi); see the discussion by Davies (1999: 67).

Line I.9: On Wadjmose (i), son of Huy (iv), who is attested towards the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, see Davies (1999: 10–11).

Line II.1: The individual named here is probably either Hehnekhu (ii) or (iii); cf. Davies (1999: 224).

Line II.2: Nakhtmin is one of the most common names at Deir el-Medina; at least 10 different individuals by that name are known from texts, but which of these is meant here is impossible to establish.

Line II.3: Pennub may be either Pennub (ii) or (iii); cf. Davies (1999: 227).

Line II.4: This seems to be the infamous Paneb (i) before he became a foreman. The earliest datable document with his name is from year 66 of Ramesses II, but it has been argued that he may have been active from around year 50, when he would have been old enough (13–15 years of age?) to 'join the workforce in a junior capacity' (Davies 1999: 35). He was promoted to foreman sometime between year 1 and 5 of Seti II (Davies 1999: 36), and the date of this ostracon therefore presumably falls between c. year 50 of Ramesses II and year 5 of Seti II.

Line II.5: Which of the individuals carrying this name is intended here is unknown: for possible candidates, see the 13 people listed by Davies (1999: 286).

Line II.6: Perhaps to be identified with Any (v), son of Nakhy, but it is difficult to distinguish between the various individuals with that name active in the latter half of the Nineteenth Dynasty (Davies 1999: 15 n. 176, 273).

Back, line 1: At least two workmen called Wennefer are attested towards the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, but the most likely candidate here is probably Wennefer (iv); see Davies (1999: 6).

Back, line 2: This individual could be either Buqentuf (i) or (ii), although the former is perhaps more likely (cf. Davies 1999: 66).

Back, line 3: If the restoration Mery[sekhmet] is correct, then this most probably refers to Merysekhmet (ii) who was active from at least year 63/64 of Ramesses II and down to the reign of Amenmesse (Davies 1999: 162).

Back, line 4: The writing of the name (without *r*) is certain (see hieratic commentary above), but the individual mentioned here probably belongs to the family of sculptors carrying the name Iyernutef who were active in the later parts of the Nineteenth Dynasty. In terms of chronology Iy(er)nutef (ii) is probably the most likely candidate, assuming he is identical with the workman of that name who appears in an undated group of late Nineteenth Dynasty ostraca (Davies 1999: 184–185, esp. 184 n. 103).

Back, line 5: Ramessesnakht is a rare name at Deir el-Medina. Davies (1999: 304) listed only one workman with this name; Ramessesnakhte (i), son of Tjay/To (i), and suggested that, like his father, he had been named after a vizier of the same name. Apart from O. E.GA.6119.1943, the only attestation of the workman Ramessesnakhte (i) is an undated graffito (Theban graffito no. 894a; Spiegelberg 1921: I, 74).

E.GA.6120.1943

(Plates 19, 58)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 13 × 14 cm, with six lines in black ink on the front, and two columns with respectively eight and six lines on the back. Red ink is used in addition to black in some of the entries on the back.

Contents: The so-called 'workmen's marks' (or 'funny signs'; Parkinson 1999: 93–96) found on a few hundred ostraca from the village are not readable in the traditional sense. They consist of signs that are neither hieratic nor hieroglyphs but which seem to be abbreviations of people's names in administrative records and lists. For preliminary studies, see Haring (2000; 2009a; 2009b); further work on newly discovered examples from the Valley of the Kings is being conducted by Debora Cilli at the University of Basel.

Translation:

N/A

Commentary:

Ben Haring (pers. comm.) reports that the sequence of the marks is closely related to ostraca with workmen's marks dated to the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV, but that it is not identical to any of these (cf. Haring 2009a: 147–148). The regnal date ('year 20+x') on the verso (line 2) is noteworthy—such dates are rare on this type of ostracon—and may refer to Ramesses III.

E.GA.6121.1943

(Plate 59)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 9 × 11 cm, with six lines of hieratic in red ink on the front; the back is empty.

Contents: Letter from the doorkeeper Penpamer.

Translation:

1 The doorkeeper Penpamer to
2 [. . .]mes Meryamun [. . .]
3 [. . . in the favour of?], Pre, Ramesses (?) [. . .]
4 l.p.h., the ruler (?), l.p.h. The 'scribe' Maanakhtef,
5 [son of] Khaemnun [. . .]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 5: The restoration [ ] at the beginning of the line is plausible. The name Khaemnun is certain, but it is not clear whether *nwn* is written as it is usually, or just .

Commentary:

Line 1: On the well-known doorkeeper Penpamer, see Goecke-Bauer (2003: 147–148). He first appears in a datable text in year 24 of Ramesses III, but there is some doubt as to when he disappears, and a date as late as year four of Ramesses VII has been proposed (Goecke-Bauer 2003: 148).

Line 4: The 'scribe' Maanakhtef (iii), son of Khaemnun (i) and Naunakhte (i), is well attested in the Deir el-Medina corpus (Davies 1999: 252–253), and appears to have been one of the many literate workers in the village (Dorn 2006). As Černý (1945: 48) noted the word *sš*, 'scribe' is occasionally applied to literate individuals in the Deir el-Medina texts that do not occupy an administrative position in the state hierarchy, as is the case here: Maanakhtef (iii) was never the official scribe of the gang.

Line 5: Khaemnun (i) was the second husband of the famous Naunakhte (i); see Davies (1999: 250–251).

E.GA.6122.1943

(Plate 20)

Description: This "ostracon" is a modern fake. The object itself is an ancient jar lid of limestone, circular in shape and with a diameter of c. 6 cm, and the front has a fake inscription in hieratic. The text is a copy of a genuine Eighteenth Dynasty ostracon in the collection of the IFAO in Cairo (O. DeM 10012; Grandet 2006: 8), and is one of at least three fake copies produced in the first half of the 20th Century. The copyist was clearly unable to read hieratic, but the text is largely legible nonetheless, based on comparisons with the original. I do not provide a commentary here; for philological observations see Grandet's (2006: 8) publication of the original, and for an analysis of the forgeries, including the 'hieratic', see Hagen (2010b).

Contents: List of workmen (modern copy of O. DeM 10002).

Translation:

Column I

1 He of the ten men, Iuna. The men:
2 Khaut
3 Djeduma
4 Kary
5 Nakhtmin
6 Nebnetjeru
7 Herihermaat
8 Amenhotep

Column II

1 Many
2 Seaa
3 Amenotep

E.GA.6123.1943

(Plate 21)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 9 × 12 cm, with five lines of hieratic on the front, written in black ink; the back is not inscribed.

Contents: List of cakes and foodstuffs given by the 'child of the tomb' Neferhotep to his mother, mentioning two *medjay* and a libation offering (*w3ḥ mw*).

Translation:

1 Given by the child of the tomb Neferhote[p …]
2 to his mother. Provisions: *paw*-cakes, 130 (?) […]

3 [. . .] the *medjay* Neferabu, the *medjay* Pare[. . .]
4 [brought for?] the libation offering. *Paw*-cakes of wheat, 70 [. . .]
5 [. . .Kh]onsuemheb. I gave this (?) by his hand (?) [. . .]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 2: At the end of the line, traces could perhaps suit , 'provi[sions]'.

Line 5: The reading of the name [Khon]suemheb is very probable. The end of the line seems to read [. . .] , but the signs preceding this are difficult: they look more like than , but that would hardly suit the context.

Commentary:

Line 1: On the title 'child of the tomb', see Černý (1973: 17); the spelling with the definite article (*ms n pȝ ḫr*) appears to be unusual.

Line 4: On libation offerings and *choachytes* at Deir el-Medina, see Donker van Heel (1992).

Line 5: According to Davies (1999: 294), no individual by the name Khonsuemheb is attested in the village, but the reading is almost certain. He may, like the *medjay* mentioned in the preceding lines, be 'of the outside' (*n bnr*), e.g. another *medjay* or perhaps a member of the *smd.t*-staff (cf. Černý 1973: 183, esp. n. 3).

E.GA.6124.1943

(Plates 22–23)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 10 × 20 cm, with six lines of hieratic on the front and one line on the back, all written in black ink. Robert Demarée (pers. comm.) suggests that it may come from Abydos and that it is probably of the Eighteenth Dynasty (cf. the spelling *m-ʿ=k* instead of the later *m-dỉ=k* in Ramesside texts).

Contents: A document registering the distribution of copper tools, some of which are 'in the tomb' (*m tȝ ʿḥʿ.t*).

Translation:

Column I

1 That which is with Duauf: 12 chisels, in the tomb
2 Then six of them were taken. I handed out four, total: 20[+ . . .]
3 Then I gave one of them to Nebseni.
4 Again by your authority, given to him: 2
5 Again by your authority, given by the hand of Amenemope: 3[. . .]
6 I gave [2(?) . . .]

Column II

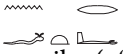
1 Remainder: 6.
2 Again, given [. . .]
3 Nebseny [. . .]
4 [lost]
5 Remainder: [. . .]
6 Remainder: 7 (?) [. . .]

Back

1 Then it is under your authority, given to me: 2. Total number of chisels: 6.

Hieratic commentary:

Line I.2: The number '6' has been corrected from '4'. At the end of the line the number '20' is certain; based on the close proximity of the name Nebseni on the line above (column II) it is perhaps unlikely that further digits are missing.

Line I.4: Probably  rather than because the sign is generally written with two strokes by this scribe (cf. e.g. lines I.2, I.3, I.6, verso 1).

Line I.5: As above (I.4).

Back, line 1: The numeral '6' has been written higher up to avoid a ridge but certainly belongs to the same line.

Commentary:

Line I.1: The name Duauf, to my knowledge, is not otherwise attested outside the literary text known as the *Instruction of Khety* (see Posener 1980), and the individual mentioned on O. E.GA.6124.1943 may have been named after the literary character; Ranke (1935: I, 399 no. 2) also lists only examples from manuscripts of this composition.

Line I.2: The use of the auxiliary *ʿḥʿ.n* is rare in administrative documents.

Line I.4: The sentence *wḥm m-ʿ=k rdỉ.t n=f* is curious. cannot be the particle *mk*, but the position before, rather than after, *rdỉ.t n=f* is unusual, but the sense has to be 'by your authority' (cf. line I.5 below).

Line I.5: The presence here of both *m-ʿ=k* and *m dr.t* suggests that the meaning of the first is an abstract reference to authority, whereas the second refers to physical agency.

Line II.1: On *wḏ3.t*, 'remainder', see *Wb*. I, 404.2

Back, line 1: The grammar of this line is somewhat unclear, and I am not sure I have understood the meaning of the masculine suffix pronoun after *ʿḥʿ.n*.

E.GA.6125.1943

(Plate 24)

Description: A pottery sherd measuring c. 4 × 5 cm, with three lines of hieratic on the front (outside of the dish) and two lines on the back, all in black ink.

Contents: Too fragmentary to establish; perhaps a message?

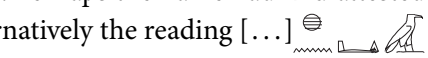
Translation:

x+1 [traces only]
x+2 [. . .] 1. *Pesa*-bread (?): [. . .]
x+3 [. . .] grain (?): 1

Back

x+1 [illegible traces only]
x+2 Padikhu(?) [. . .]

Hieratic commentary:

Back, line x+2: Perhaps the name Padikhu attested by Ranke (1935: I, 125.20) in the Thirtieth Dynasty. Alternatively the reading [...]  , for Padikhon[su] is just possible.

Commentary:

Line x+3: Perhaps *nfry.t*, 'grain'; see Caminos (1954: 415), although I know of no other instance followed by a numeral, as here.

E.GA.6128.1943

(Plates 25, 26, 27, 60)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 12 × 20 cm, with six lines of hieratic on the front, and five or six lines on the back, all written in black ink. The front has eight versepoints (indicated by the diacritic • in the translation), as well as a date in red ink.

Contents: The literary text on the front is the otherwise rarely attested § 13 of *The Instruction of Kairsu*, previously known as *The Loyalist Instruction* (Posener 1976; cf. Verhoeven 2009). The back has a magical text.

Translation:

1 It is the evil one that destroys his mound, • whereas a city is founded for
2 the loved one; • the monument of a man is kindness. • Silence is beneficial, and good
3 [is giving praise?]. • The worry in life is to plan for that which has not yet occurred, • and the powerful one wards it off [...?]
4 [...]• He who is kind to everyone, he multiplies his cattle, [•]
5 whereas the bad [herdsman], his cattle are few. • Second month of Peret, day 18.
6 [Fight for people in] every way. •

Back

1 I am Weret who is in the shrine, the mistress above the multitude, Iaret
2 foremost of place in the secret shrine;
3 the gods who are in the doorways rejoice in approaching her,
4 they are satisfied (?) at seeing her, at seeing
5 her, and the risen one, Iaret (?), rejoices because of it (?) [...]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: In the word *grg*, the scribe has written using a form that looks almost like (compare Möller 1927: 20 no. 224 and 41 no. 467).

Line 4: The first part of the line (= end of § 13.6) is difficult to reconcile with the variants in the other sources which have *'nn–sw sḫm sḥn* (cf. Posener 1976: 132; 'L'homme qui a de l'autorité fait face'); the variant here with a verb (now lost) and suffix pronoun is otherwise unattested. In *km.n=f*, the sign under the determinative is probably rather than , despite the abbreviated form.

Line 5: Traces at the beginning may suit , as suggested by P. Louvre E 4864 (Posener 1976: 133).

Commentary:

Line 1: The scribe has confused the word *(i)3.t*, 'mound', with *3.t*, 'moment', but the former (as in Carnarvon Tablet II of the Eighteenth Dynasty) is probably preferable (Posener 1976: 131). The

'mound' is a symbol of refuge, related to the function of *tells* as islands during the inundation season (Parkinson 1997: 244).

Line 2: The use of the old demonstrative *pn*, 'this', is for *pw* (as in all other sources). None of the sources published in the synoptic edition by Posener (1976) preserve the second half of (§ 13.4), 'Silence is beneficial, good is [...]', and I know of no other sources that would supply the missing word in O. E.GA.6128.1943, although an ostracon in Turin (no. 57547) also has traces of *nfr* at the beginning (López 1984: pl. 176), confirming that reading. The missing word has the 'praising man' determinative (, A30) at the beginning of line 3, so perhaps a word or phrase meaning 'give praise' or similar.

Line 3: The beginning of § 13.5 is not preserved in other sources (Posener 1976: 132). The word *mḥ'.t*, 'worry' or 'concern' is determined by as so often in New Kingdom hieratic (cf. *Wb*. II, 120). The determinative of *n ỉỉ.t*, literally 'that which has not yet come', shows that the sense is clearly negative.

Line 4: The spelling of *sfn* with an initial *aleph* (§ 13.7) is curious, but there is parallel in P. Louvre E 4864 (Posener 1976: 132). The sense of the second verseline is not apparent, but the text need not be inferior to Carnarvon Tablet II, the only other source for this passage (the traces on O. Turin 57547 are too faint to transcribe with certainty; López 1984: pl. 176). Carnarvon Tablet II has *sfn [...] ḳmɜ n=f ḥm.t* (Posener 1976: pl. 1 line 12), which has been translated as 'The merciful—the cow bears for him' (Parkinson 1997: 241), but the sign left untranscribed by Posener (1976: 133) may suggests that that text is corrupt. In any case the variant *km=f ỉɜd.t=f*, 'he multiplies his cattle', makes sense in this context.

Line 5: Restoring *mnỉ*, 'herdsman' at the beginning of the line, after Carnarvon Tablet II (Posener 1976: 133). The last verseline (§ 13.8) is followed by the 'pause'-sign in red, and a date. Such dates have been interpreted as a sign that copies are scribal exercises (McDowell 1996), but if so the copyist was no beginning student; the hand is practised. The scribe continued the text on the line below, but stopped after the first verseline of the next 'chapter' (§ 14.1), as is common on literary ostraca.

Back, line 1: The reference to Weret as being 'in every shrine' is otherwise unknown, but in another magical text from Deir el-Medina (Chester Beatty VIII = P. BM EA 10688, verso 10.1–2) she is described as *ḫns ḏw ḥr nb.w kɜrỉ*, '(Oh Weret ...) the one who wards off evil for the lords of the shrines' (Gardiner 1935: I, 75; II, pl. 47). The phrase *ỉnk wr.t* is also found in P. Louvre 3129 (Schott 1929: 53.15) but in a different context; the identification of the speaker with gods or goddesses in magical texts is common.

Back, line 3: Probably to be read as *ḫsf*, 'approach', 'draw near' despite the determinative which is influenced by the more common , *ḫsf*, 'repel', 'oppose' (which makes little sense in this context).

Back, line 4: The sense of this line is not certain, partly due to what seems like a confusion of pronouns. I take *ḥtp.w pw st* to be a corruption (*pw* repeated by mistake, and *=st* for *=sn*), but these are admittedly speculative and invasive corrections.

E.GA.6129.1943

(Plates 28–31)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 16 × 14 cm, with seven lines of hieratic on the front and eight lines on the back, all written in black ink. Both sides have numerous versepoints. Crystallising salts have damaged much of the surface, and split the ostracon into two parts which are joined in the facsimile drawings (regrettably the photographs were taken without the second fragment in place). The damaged surface, combined with dirt, often obscures the text, and my transcription is tentative at best.

Contents: The front has what may be a magico-religious text, while the verso contains faint traces of a literary composition that may be related to that on the front; both mention Thoth.

Translation:

1 [… illegible traces only …]
2 […] Kush. • […]
3 […] his clothes consist only of an animal skin, • Thoth […]
4 […] • Give me words (?) for my mouth, • G[ive …]
5 […] for my mouth, make the eye downcast towards me […]
6 [… by the spell of an] amulet (?), • (as) gifts to the one whom you love, • put […]
7 […] Thoth (?), and you will behold […]•

Back

1 [… lost …]
2 […] of pacifying Iah-Djehuty. • Praise […]
3 […]• follow him according to [his every] step (?) […]
4 […]• in every beautiful day, • Memphis […]
5–9 [… illegible …]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 3: Only the top of the determinative of *ḫn.w* is visible, so the reading is uncertain.

Line 6: The reading , *s3w*, 'amulet', is not certain; it could also be , *wḏ*, 'command'. Similarly, the word after the first versepoint could be either or .

Back, lines 5–9: The traces are generally too faint to be seen in the photograph, but see the facsimile drawing: the transcriptions are uncertain.

Commentary:

Line 3: On *ḫn.t*, 'animal skin', see Janssen (1975: 400–401), who identified it as the skin of an '*nḫ*-goat.

Line 5: The line may refer to *ỉr.t [bỉn.t]*, '[evil] eye'; Thoth, mentioned in lines 3 and 7, is elsewhere associated with protection against the evil eye, perhaps most explicitly in P. BM EA 10246 (= P. Anastasi III), recto 5.4: 'O Thoth, you shall be my champion, and I shall not fear the eye' (*bn snḏ=ỉ n ỉr.t*; Gardiner 1937: 25; Caminos 1954: 88). There need not be an adjective [*bỉn.t*] missing, as the 'evil' eye occasionally appears as *ỉr.t* on its own (cf. Borghouts 1973: 147).

Back, line 1: Thoth in his aspect of moon-god ('Moon-Thoth') occurs frequently on Deir el-Medina stelae (Leitz 2002: I, 150–151). In particular he is invoked in this form in the context of the well-known 'blindness' *topos*, where he appears as the deity who has caused individuals to 'see darkness by day' (*m33 kk.w m hrw*), often as a perceived punishment for a falsely sworn oath (e.g. K*RI* I, 413.3; III, 668.14, 795.3; IV, 38.8). In several of these cases he is explicitly linked

to healing and protection: 'health and life are in your hand' (K*RI* III, 669.1–2); 'Beware of the Moon, the merciful one, who can reverse this affliction' (K*RI* III, 795.8). This might provide a thematic link with the text on the front of the ostracon. 'Moon-Thoth' also appears in hymns from Deir el-Medina (Černý 1948: 121; Pleyte and Rossi 1869–1876: pls. 24–25).

Back, line 2: The expression *šmsw* N. *r nmt.t=f*, 'follow N. according to his steps', is common in both the Middle and the New Kingdom, in particular in relation to royal phraseology (e.g. Blumenthal 1970: 342; Doxey 1998: 114).

Back, line 3: On *ḥwt-kꜣ-ptḥ* as referring to Memphis in New Kingdom texts, see *Wb*. III, 5.20.

E.GA.6130.1943 (+O. DeM 1722)

(Plates 32–36)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 21 × 15 cm, with 11 lines of hieratic on the front, and two columns with respectively five and seven lines each on the back, all written in black ink. The front has a number of versepoints, and one supralinear correction in red (above line 7). The left hand edge (seen from the front) joins O. DeM 1722 (Gasse 1990), the text of which is incorporated into the transcriptions on plates 34 and 36.

Contents: The front has a model letter—the identification of it as a model is based on the presence of versepoints—from a scribe called Ture to his mother, a chantress of Amun whose name is now lost. The back has a list of various wooden objects, including various 'beams' (*sꜣy*, *ỉtỉy*), 'door jambs' (*ḥtrỉ*) and a 'column' (*wḫꜣ*), all connected with certain parts of a house or palace. The ostracon was quoted by Janssen (1975: 373–374, 391 n. 18, 393) who was the first to note the join with 'ostracon Černý 3' (= O. DeM 1722; Gasse 1990) in print. J. Černý had previously noted the join and transcribed both the front and back in one of his notebooks (Notebook 109: 26–31). A translation was included in Wente (1990: 146–147, no. 197), and a transcription appeared in K*RI* VIII, 190–192. For the transcription of O. DeM 1722 I have followed Gasse (1990) except for one or two cases where Černý's readings seemed preferable.

Translation:

1 The scribe Ture greets his mother, the chantress of Amun [...]
2 In life, prosperity and health, in the favour of Amun-Re, king of the gods. Now, how are you? Furthermore, [I am calling upon]
3 Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of southern Iunu, to Re when he rises [in the eastern sky]
4 daily, to give you health, to place you in the favour of the (lady of the) western ridge, the mistress, to let me s[ee you]
5 healthy every day. Now furthermore, one sends ⟨me?⟩ as far as the east [side on behalf of the],
6 vizier, in order to collect the dues (?) from his controllers who are in the field, and [...]
7 from last year's balance. Now there is no undergarment for my behind, because [my?] undergarment has been taken [...]
8 the share of the granary of the king, l.p.h. May you please pay attention so that I may be provided [with ...]
9 Do not make [me?] go, I being turned away, or you will be turned away. He who is [...]
10 Now, when ⟨I⟩ return from the mission, I will provide his things as grain. [...]
11 Do not listen to what Wadjmose said, and don't [...]

Back

Column I

1 [...] Re, in order to reckon [...]
2 [... storehouse?] of wood, south of the House of Nebmaatre (?) [...]

3 [. . .] for an *ỉṯy*-beam for the place which [. . .]
4 [. . .] the side-room of the *nb.t*. Large cut log: 1
5a *ỉṯy*-beams of 12 cubits: 4
6a [. . .] of 6 cubits of dom palm-wood: 22
7a [Door]-jambs (?), cut: 89
8a [. . .] of 7 (cubits?) of acacia-wood: 6
9a Their break-down (?):
10a Wooden columns of 8 cubits: 12.5
11a A wooden beam of 16 cubits. (This) makes dom-palm and acacia: 26 (?)
12a Cut logs: 12
13a Wooden beams, cut: 12. (This) makes dom-palm and acacia: 19. Total: 31
14a The *nb.t* of the royal palace, l.p.h.: Large cut log: 1
15a Wooden beams: 31

Column II

5b *ḥry*-beams (?) of acacia-wood: 61
6b Bedchamber:
7b Large cut logs: 2
8b Wooden columns, cut: 2
9b *ỉṯy*-beams: [. . .]
10b Wooden beams: 3
11b The hall of this house:
12b A large pole covered with gold

Hieratic commentary:

Line 4: The transcription in *snb -tw*, 'give you health' is certain as there is no dot, although the subject is clearly still Ture's mother, and so should formally have been (it is written correctly in the next sentence).

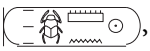
Line 5: There are faint traces of red ink after *ḥnʿ ḏd*, which I interpret as a versepoint (but compare O. DeM 1722, line 2, where there is none after the same phrase).

Line 7: The negation *nn* is a supralinear addition in red ink.

Line 8: The sign (Gardiner V11) is, unusually, written with two horizontal strokes at the top.

Line 10: The traces of a long diagonal stroke at the end of the line (under) is presumably palimpsest (cf. Gasse 1990 who notes that O. DeM 1722 too displays signs of palimpsest).

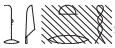
Line 11: The first sign has been 'corrected' from a badly written version of the same sign. In , the apparent suffix pronoun is a mistake.

Back, line 2 (O. DeM 1722): The royal name is not clear. Gasse (1990) read , i.e. Amenhotep III, whereas Černý suggested  , Tuthmosis IV.

Back, line 3 (O. DeM 1722): The reading of the first word is uncertain. Gasse (1990) rendered it , Černý read , while Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.) suggests .

Back, line 4: I have consistently transcribed *sšd*, 'cut', as in the text, although one or two examples look more like .

Back, line I.6a: The beginning of the line is difficult. I read with Černý; Gasse (1990) tentatively rendered it .

Back, line I.7a: I have followed Černý's suggestion of restoring  , *ḥtrỉ*, 'door jambs' (cf. Janssen 1975: 391–392), although the number (89) seems rather large if this really refers to parts of a doorway.

Back, line I.14a: The relative positions of are interchangeable in the word in *s3y*, 'beam' (cf. I.12a above, I.16a and II.11b below). The final digit looks more like 5 than 1, but the sum should be 31 based on the preceding numbers (19 + 12).

Back, line II.5b: The reading of the type of beam here is uncertain. I have followed Černý who read *ḥry*; Gasse (1990) transcribed .

Commentary:

Line 3: The assertion by Bakir (1970: 61) that greeting formulae in letters on ostraca are abbreviated with only Amun-Re seems to be disproved by the full formula here, but could be explained by its status as a model letter.

Line 4: The second person is here, as elsewhere in this text, indicated by the sign , rather than the conventional pronoun *tw*. On the translation of *dhn.t* as 'ridge' and not 'peak', see Yoyotte (2003: 289–294; 'butte'); the terms alludes to Meresger.

Line 7: On *sfn*, 'last year', see Fischer-Elfert (1989: 40). The *sḏ.w*-garment is generally translated 'loincloth', but as Janssen (2008: 46–49) notes, there are problems with this both in terms of orthography and the surprisingly high value assigned to it in lists of commodities; like him I can offer no suitable explanation. For other cases where the *sḏ.w*-garment is specifically said to be (*n*) *pḥ.ty*, 'for the back', see O. DeM 87.5 and 583.1 (Černý 1935b: pl. 53; Sauneron 1959: pl. 18).

Back, line 2: The royal name is not clear (see hieratic commentary). Gasse (1990) suggested Nebmaatre (Amenhotep III) while Černý (Notebook 109.4a) read Menkheperure (Tuthmosis IV).

Back, line 3: The exact nature of an *ỉṯy* is not known, but cf. the discussion by Janssen (1975: 374–375; 'some kind of beam').

Back, line 4: Exactly what a *gbw*, translated as 'Art Gebaude' by the *Wb*. (I, 163.3), is is not clear. Gardiner (1947: II, 207*) suggested 'side-room', based on the occurrence of the word in the onomasticon of Amenemope, where it appears after 'sitting-room' (*s.t ḥms*) but before 'lower part' (*ḫrtỉw*; 'cellar'?) in a list of the different rooms of a house. The room is elsewhere associated with wood (e.g. in the accounts from the court of Seti I, P. BNF 209, col. II.17; Spiegelberg 1896: pl. IX), but also sandalmakers (Gardiner 1947: II, 207*). It clearly forms part of the *nb.t*, which in turn, in line 14a, is said to belong to the palace. That a *gbw* could be found in a palace is also clear from an inscription from Amarna which identifies one Ipi as 'overseer of the great *gb* of the palace, l.p.h., in Akhetaten'; Helck (1955: 26) suggested, implausibly in my opinion, that it was simply a miswriting for *k3p*. The description of the wood as *sšd*, 'cut', presumably refers to its worked state; compare Janssen's (1975: 371–372) discussion of the word *šʿd*, a generic word for a worked piece of wood, but in this case (as in 9b below) it is clearly an adjective. The word *sšd*, 'window' (Gardiner 1947: 212*) seems less relevant in this context.

Back, line I.6a: On the identification of *mɜmɜ* with dom palm-wood (*Hyphaene thebaica*), see Baum (1988: 106–119).

Back, line I.11a: For *wḫɜ* as referring to 'columns' in both tombs and domestic dwellings, see Janssen (1975: 392–393). Janssen noted the extreme height of this example (8 cubits = c. 4.20 metres), and thought that it was 'probably meant for a temple or chapel', but the mention of 'the *nb.t* of the king, l.p.h.' below (I.15a) suggests that it belongs to a palace.

Back, line I.12a: Janssen (1975: 372–374) has argued that *sɜy* is the generic term for a 'beam' of wood; this example is unusually long (c. 8.40 metres). On the translation of *šnd.t* as *Acacia nilotica*, see Baum (1988: 303).

Back, line I.15a: I do not know what a *nb.t* is, but the word also occurs in the famous love-songs of P. Chester Beatty I (recto 16.10; Gardiner 1931: pl. xvi), which begins *in media res* 'You shall bring it to the house of the sister, when you storm into her , which is made like her , it is a battleground (?), her *nb.t* ( )' (I am grateful to R.J. Demarée for this reference). Gardiner suggested the translation 'bower (?)' for *nb.t*, but without references or discussion; in any case it clearly here refers to part of a house, which is also the case on O. E.GA.6130.1943 (compare the mention of a 'bedroom' in line II.6b below).

Back, line II.5b: I do not know what a *ḥry*-beam (or *ddỉ*-beam, see above) might be.

Back, line II.6b: Literally 'room of the bed' (*ʿ.t ḥnky.t*).

Back, line II.11b: On *ḫɜ(tỉ)*, and the meaning 'hall', see Davies (1972: 300).

E.GA.6131.1943

(Plate 61)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 8 × 14 cm, with three lines of hieroglyphs in red ink on the front; the back is empty.

Contents: A text mentioning *nb.t tɜ.wy*, 'Mistress of the Two Lands', with cartouches (illegible); probably Hatshepsut.

Translation:

1 Mighty of *ka*'s, the perfect god, mistress of the two lands, mistress of the two lands [...]
2 Ruler of Opet (?), mistress of the two lands [...]
3 [... illegible traces ...]

Commentary:

Line 1: The phrase *wsr kɜw*, 'mighty of *kas*' is attested as the Horus name of Hatshepsut (e.g. *Urk.* IV, 261.14), and with the accompanying epithets *nṯr nfr*, 'perfect god' and *nb.t tɜ.wy*, 'Mistress of the Two Lands', she is most plausibly the person alluded to, despite the illegibility of the two cartouches below (lines 2 and 3).

E.GA.6132.1943

(Plate 37)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 12 × 14 cm, with six lines of hieratic on the front, written in black ink; there are traces of palimpsest. The back of the ostracon has suffered much

damage, and only a tiny part of the original surface is preserved. This has traces in black and red ink, and would have contained an administrative text.

Contents: I do not know how to classify this text. It may be a letter addressed to a lady (cf. the greeting formula in line 6), but R.J. Demarée (pers. comm.) thinks some parts are reminiscent of a ritual text.

Translation:

Front

1 [… traces only …]
2 […] look […] from them (?), and he found the little […]
3 […] two *ỉnḥ.t*-jars of beer, and a *mn.t*-jar of wine, missing (?), dates […]
4 […] he swore, saying 'Amun, Amun, grant that (Queen) Ahhotep lives for me' […]
5 […] all types of […]*w.t*-plants, the smell will be sweet from the offerings […]
6 […] say to her, 'How are you in this hour?' […]

Back

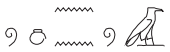
x+1 […] bread […]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 3: The reading seems more likely than in this context, although whether this should be translated *wš*, 'absent' or 'missing', or *km*, 'black', is uncertain.

Line 4: The traces at the beginning might suit ; the apparently elongated *n* in the oath formula consists of two separate strokes (not visible in the photograph).

Commentary:

Line 2: I do not understand the first half of the line, although the transcription seems certain;  is perhaps also just possible, but neither makes sense to me.

Line 4: The oath formula names Queen Ahhotep, wife of Seqenenre Taa (and mother of Ahmose, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty). This does not date the ostracon to that period, however; it simply relates an event that presumably took place when that queen was alive (unless it is a ritual text; see above).

Line 5: I take *nḏm sty m '(3)b.t* to be an adjectival sentence.

E.GA.6133.1943

(Plates 38–39)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 16 × 22 cm, with nine or ten lines of hieratic in black ink on the front, including several versepoints in red. The back is largely empty but for a few signs.

Contents: This is the only known parallel to the final lines of the Amun-Re hymn of P. Boulaq 17, and adds some variants to that text (see below). Restorations in square brackets are based on the latest synoptic edition by Luiselli (2004: §§IV.29–46) and are informed by the reviews of the same by Werming (2006) and Quack (2005).

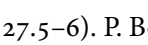
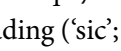
Translation:

1 … when [they] see [him] powerful in his opposition.• Amun, the power of the gods, • the just one, lord of Karnak, • in his name
2 [of] doer of Maat,• lord of food-offerings, bull of offerings, • in his name Ka-
3 mutef, • who created man[kind] and who makes everything live, • in his name
4 [Atum]-Khepri, • Great falcon adorned of throat •, beautiful of face, adorned of breast,• […]
5 […] tall of feathers, • the two White Ones and the two Uraei are before him, • the heart(s) of people approach him, [•]
6 the sun-worshippers touch him, • the Two Lands are festive at his appearance.• Greetings, O Amun-Re, [•] Lord of
7 […] foremost of […] • whose rising is loved by his town, • who opens (?) upon seeing […]
8 […] It has come] well and in [peace] • by [the scribe …]
9 […]
10 […] • […]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: The scribe has written *ḫsf=f* for *sḫm=f*, 'power', presumably because of the similarity of the signs in hieratic (e.g. a sloppily written superimposed over). The space between *mɜʿ.ty* and *nb* (= §IV.31) seems too large for the text of P. Boulaq 17 which only has the determinative here.

Line 4: On the transcription of *šn* (Möller 1927: 521), see Gardiner (1929: 53). I cannot read the group at the end of the line (= start of §IV.40), but it seems incompatible with the expected of P. Boulaq 17.

Line 5: The determinative of *mḥy* ( ) is certain, and is perhaps based on a confusion with the serpent  known from New Kingdom magical and funerary literature (*Wb*. II, 127.5–6). P. Boulaq 17 is difficult here, and despite Luiselli's (2004: 98) assertion that  is the correct reading ('sic'; 2005: 98; translating 'mit hohem Federschmuck' on p. 37), others have read [ ] (Werning 2006: 282 n. 15). Both *ḥḏ.ty* and *wɜḏ.ty* include two short diagonal strokes before the divine determinatives (also double), which is perhaps simply an abbreviated writing of . There are traces of either a correction or a palimpsest text under *ḥɜ.t*.

Line 7: The traces at the beginning of the line are impossible to reconcile with the text of P. Boulaq 17, both as regards signs and the length of space available.

Line 8: Much of the line is illegible but there are traces that might correspond to the end of a colophon, followed by *ỉn*, after which one would expect a title and personal name (i.e. of the copyist or the person honoured by the colophon).

Lines 9–10: These lines are largely illegible but there are traces of both hieratic in black ink as well as a versepoint in red.

Commentary:

Line 3: The variant *sʿnḫ.w n nty nb* is grammatically problematic and probably corrupt, although the intended meaning seems clear: 'who makes everything live'. P. Boulaq 17 has *sḫpr ỉr nty nb* ('who creates and causes everything that is'?), which is apparently also corrupt; Luiselli (2004: 37) and Römer (1987: 423) argued that there is an omitted object after *sḫpr*.

Line 4: In the epithet *sḫb{sw} šn.tỉ*, 'adorned of throat(?)', the word *šn.tỉ* may be a miswriting of *šn⟨b⟩.t*, 'breast', 'throat' (*Wb*. IV, 512.10–513.17), as in P. Boulaq 17, or, perhaps less likely,

šn⟨ʿ⟩, 'breast' (*Wb*. IV, 506.14). The absence of *m* before *mnḏ.t* supports Werning's (2006: 280 n. 10) suggestion that this is a mistake in the text of P. Boulaq 17. Luiselli (2004: 37) read *mnḏ.t* as 'Augen', as against the meaning 'breast' (cf. Werning 2006: 280 n. 10; Römer 1987: 423), but the word as written in P. Boulaq 17 has no other determinative than the 'flesh' sign (, Gardiner F51). In O. E.GA.6133.1943 the determinatives include two 'breast' signs ( ), indicating that the scribe who wrote the latter had the word *mnḏ.t*, 'breast', in mind.

Line 5: O. E.GA.6133.1943 has the variant *ḥḏ.ty*, 'the (two) White Ones', instead of the verbal construction of P. Boulaq 17 (*[bꜣ]bꜣ wꜣḏ.ty m ḥꜣ.t=f*; 'the Uraei are [mo]ving in front of him'; cf. Luiselli 2004: 34).

Line 7: The variant on O. E.GA.6133.1943 is illegible but is certainly not identical to that of P. Boulaq 17; the space available and the versepoint before *mrr* confirms this, as do the traces towards the end of the line.

Lines 8–10: The final three lines seem to contain traces of a colophon. Only the beginning of this is preserved on line 8, but because the object is largely complete it seems most likely that the final two lines, of which only illegible traces are left, also formed part of the colophon, rather than a new and unrelated text. This would be uncharacteristically long for a colophon on an ostracon (McDowell 2000); but compare the extraordinarily long example in a contemporary papyrus with magical and medical texts which runs over six full lines (Leitz 1999: pl. 48).

E.GA.6134.1943

(Plates 40–43)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 17 × 23 cm, with seven lines of hieratic on the front and six lines on the back, all written in black ink. There are versepoints on both the front and the back.

Contents: A hymn or prayer to Amun.

Translation:

1 Hymn [to Amun]
2 Rejoice (?) in the sun that rises;• Amun, you are the one who rises • [… in]
3 the courtyard of Approaching-you-in-darkness, • as the entire land [longs for]
4 light. • because as for him, namely Amun, • (he is) the sun for everyone. • Pay
5 attention to the one who places you his heart, and to anyone who speaks your name, •
6 because your faithful follower does not sleep, • there is no (?) orphan,
7 whom you have saved (?).

Back

1 As for he who places Amun in his heart, • the sun rises for him, •
2 he is one who is honoured by people, • and whom the gods love, •
3 he is (happy?) as a drunk every day, • with his clothes shining brightly,
4 embodying health and life; he never says
5 'Would that I had!'

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: Faint illegible traces at the very top of the ostracon; one of the signs seems to be , perhaps part of a heading *dwꜣ ỉmn*, 'Hymn [to Amun]'.

Line 2: In the word *šw*, 'sun', the feather has been corrected from (or superimposed over) . Towards the end of the line the scribe has "touched up" several signs because the ink was faint; the original shapes can still be seen and are in each case identical with the new sign, proving that this was no 'correction' but rather an aesthetic choice (cf. line 3 below).

Line 3: There are some smudged horizontal lines above the beginning: perhaps traces of palimpsest (cf. under the word *p3* towards the end of the line). The initial signs have been "touched up" with stronger ink (cf. above).

Line 5: There are palimpsest traces above *ỉb*.

Line 6: The long sign below *nmḥ* is curious: Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.) suggests restoring this as , perhaps influenced by the literary *topos bn nmḥ=k*, 'may you not be poor' (Caminos 1954: 245, with variants), but admittedly the upturned 'tail' of the sign is very unusual.

Back, line 1: Faint traces under *ỉb*: this is either a correction or palimpsest. The *šw*-feather was corrected from (or simply superimposed on) (as in recto 2).

Back, line 2: The pronoun *sw* is an interlinear insertion.

Back, line 4: The area around *ʿnḫ* is slightly smudged, but I can see no evidence of a correction or palimpsest.

Back, line 6: I cannot read these signs; they do not seem to be part of the text.

Commentary:

Line 2: has to be the independent pronoun *ntk*; this may be a variant of the *topos*, common in hymns to Amun, consisting of *ntk ỉmn p3* + epithet ('You are Amun the saviour' and sim.; cf. Wilson 1933: 152).

Line 3: The line is difficult and I have translated it literally. There is a parallel of sorts in O. BM EA 29559, recto 9, a notoriously corrupt text (Erman 1906: 106), which has:

This line was translated by Assmann (1975: 390) as '(Die Sonne dessen, der dich verkennt, ist untergangen, Amun, aber wer (dich) kennt, (sagt)) "Sie ist aufgegangen im Vorhof!" Wer dich angreift, ist im Dunkel, auch wenn das ganze land in der Sonne liegt', but as Erman's (1906: 108) alternative translation shows, the sense is difficult to grasp (cf. Breasted 1912: 355). The passage immediately following this in the British Museum ostracon is also reminiscent of O. E.GA.6134.1943; *p3 dỉ.t nb.t m ỉb=f, ỉmn, mk p3y=f šw wbn*, 'Anyone who places you in his heart, Amun, see, his sun is risen'. Then follows a *grḥ*-sign (= 'the end'), of which the running text on O. BM EA 29559 has at least two (cf. line 10), suggesting that the text on that ostracon may be a collection of verses, perhaps from different compositions,[1] one of which was a version of the hymn preserved on O. E.GA.6134.1943 (which seems less corrupt). Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.) suggests that *pḥ nṯr* (*m kk.w*), literally 'approaching the god (in darkness)', may be a reference to the oracular or divinatory *pḥ-nṯr* ritual attested from the Twentieth Dynasty and onwards (cf. Ritner 1993: 214–220; Kruchten 1985; Gee 2002: 217–218); the 'courtyard' (*wb3*) might then refer to its physical context.

[1] Several other lines on O. BM EA 29559 (= EA 5656a) appear in a similar but not identical text on an ostracon in Chicago (Wilson 1933), although it is not clear if one is citing the other, or whether both are drawing on a common set of stock phrases from the religious literature.

Line 4: On the expression *ḥr ntt rf ỉry ỉmn* cf. O. BM EA 29559, recto 7, and verso 1 (Demarée 2002: pls. 86–87).

Line 6: In the sentence beginning *bw nmḥ* the construction used is not clear: *bw* must be for *bn* as *nmḥ* can hardly be a transitive verb ('to make poor'), but if the strokes underneath should be read as the personal pronoun (see above), then the sense difficult to grasp. The phrase must be a reference to Amun as the saviour (*šd*) of 'orphans' or 'poor people' (*nmḥ*); for this *topos*, see Posener (1975: 205 n. 24; cf. 1971).

Back, line 1: The phrase 'As for he who places Amun in his heart, the sun rises for him' occurs earlier in the late-Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Neferhotep at Thebes (TT 49; Davies 1933: II, pl. 12) and may be a *topos* in religious hymns to Amun (cf. Assmann 1975: 612; cf. Posener 1975: 206).

E.GA.6135.1943

(Plates 44–45)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 7 × 12 cm, with five lines of hieratic on the front, and four lines on the back, all written in black ink.

Contents: A short letter or message mentioning an oath.

Translation:

1 [The draughtsman] Pay to his son, the draughtsman [Preemheb/Prehotep …]
2 the 12 (*deben*) of yarn […]
3 their basket (?) […]
4 good until today […]

Back

1 Pay swore, 'As […] endures […]
2 Shu, and as […] endures […]
3 and you did not bring the […]
4 he did not give it to you […]'

Commentary:

Line 1: The restoration of the name of the son is based on the traces of the first sign, which looks like *p3*. The draughtsman Pay (i) had two sons whose names began with this sign (Davies 1999: 150), Prehotep (i) and Preemheb (i), and it is impossible to say which one was the addressee here. There are several other ostraca with letters by Pay (i) to his son(s), including O. Berlin 11247 (Wente 1990: 142 no. 185; Gardiner 1911: pls. 35–35a) and O. Černý 19 (Wente 1990: 153 no. 218; Černý and Gardiner 1957: 54 no. 4), but only in the latter is the name of the addressee (Preemheb) preserved; in the other the name has been restored as both Preemheb (Wente 1990: 142) and Prehotep (Posener 1982: 122–123). Pay (i) seems to have been active until at least year 47 of Ramesses II, and O. E.GA.6135.1943 should probably be dated to sometime before this (cf. Keller 2008: 151–154).

Line 2: Yarn (*nwt*) is generally measured in deben; see Janssen (1975:436–438). The meaning of the word *nḏ*, which often occurs immediately following 'yarn', is not certain; it does not denote quality, and Janssen (1975: 436) suggested that it may be a reference to quantity.

Line 3: The meaning (and reading) of *g3b* is uncertain; Janssen (1975: 357) suggested a type of basket, perhaps linked to the word *g3b*, 'leaf'.

Back, line 1: At the end of the line, *wꜣḥ* marks the beginning of the oath, sworn in the name of various deities including Shu (cf. line 2 below).

E.GA.6136.1943

(Plate 46)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 4 × 6 cm, with two lines of hieratic on the front in black ink with one versepoint in red; the back is empty.

Contents: Fragment of a literary text.

Translation:

Too fragmentary to translate.

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: The sign appears to be a determinative for the preceding word now lost, judging by the position of the versepoint. The verb following this is difficult to identify. The two initial signs both look like , which is clearly impossible, and there are no determinatives; could it be a mistake for ?

Commentary:

Line 1: The presence of a versepoint suggests that this is probably part of a literary or religious text, an impression that is confirmed by the hand. The verb form after the versepoint looks like a passive *sḏm.n.tw=f* (whatever the verb itself is; see above) which might also suggest a literary text written in an archaic grammatical register.

E.GA.6137.1943

(Plates 47–50)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 16 × 21 cm, with eight lines of hieratic on the front and six lines on the back, all written in black ink, much of which is now very faint. There are versepoints on both the front and the back.

Contents: The front has *The Instruction of a Man for his Son*, §§ 11.4–13.3. The back has an unidentified literary composition.

Translation:

1 [… illegible traces only …]
2 […] • There is no restraining [the sound of a man who loves his own voice •]
3 [it is the heart which] creates [character], • and a (just) judgment cools the hot-[headed • One relies on the silent]
4 [one] in the hall [•], whereas many voices are restrained [by a single one (?),•]
[one seizes] that which is sweet rather than that which is hateful [• …]
5 If you are a man to whom one petitions, [•] and judge two parties in a dispute, • hear [it as they enter one at a time? …]
6 […] • As for two men whose character is being judged, they will leave content [•]
[… for the one who is]
7 loved, • uphold a previous judgment; words are powerful […],• long is […]
8 [… illegible traces only …]

Back

1 [...] • fight [...]
2 [...] • there is no [...]
3 [...] • [...]
4 [...] silence. • [...]
5 [...] • One says about him: 'He is greedy (?) towards deficits' [...]
6 [...] the kind man is one who subdues emotions [...]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 2: The sign at the beginning is almost certainly , but the initial words of the passage (§ 11.4) are not preserved in any other source; it is written high up which suggests that there was originally some signs underneath, but no trace of these remains. The signs were first written in red ink, and then again in black ink.

Line 3: The traces after the final versepoint are largely illegible, but is just possible and would correspond to the traces of this verse line on writing tablet Turin 58006, as tentatively transcribed by Fischer-Elfert (1999: II, § 11.8), but there is too much space between this and the versepoint for a simple as on the Turin tablet (if that is the correct reading there; the surface is damaged, as shown by the photograph in López 1984: pl. 187).

Line 4: The traces after the second versepoint seem incompatible with as in the other sources (Fischer-Elfert 1999: II, § 12.3), but the traces towards the end of the line confirm that this was a version of that paraphraph.

Line 5: There is just enough space to restore [ ] as suggested by Fischer-Elfert (1999: II, § 12.5) on the basis of the similarity of *Ptahhotep* 264 (L2 = BM EA 10509 manuscript only; Žába 1956: 36); there is a versepoint lost in the erased area.

Back, line 5: The reading of the group was tentatively suggested by Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.), but as he noted one would expect a determinative like or in New Kingdom hieratic.

Back, line 6: There are traces in red ink at the beginning of the line, too extensive for a versepoint, and certainly not a correction (traces are on the line). It may have been a rubric or a date. The reading *ksm* is probable, although of only the handle-stroke is preserved; I owe this reading to Fischer-Elfert (pers. comm.). There are traces of a single sign on the line beneath, but this looks isolated and seems too low down to be part of an erased line belonging to the same text.

Commentary:

Line 1: The reading *ḏd.ỉn* seems certain but is presumably a corruption. There is a lack of parallels to guide any interpretation of this passage; I do not know what the sense of it might be.

Line 6: This line completes § 13.2; the final part (*mdt pw nry*) is not otherwise known. Similarly, the beginning of § 13.3 is not otherwise preserved.

Back, line 5: If the reading *ʿwn* is correct (see above), this is presumably a non-verbal sentence pattern with *ʿwn* used in an adjectival sense (*ʿwn -sw*, 'he is greedy'); but there apparently no other examples of this use, nor of a direct object introduced with *r* (cf. *Wb*. I, 172.11–18; with *ḥr* and *m* only).

Back, line 6: The expression *ksm ḫ.t*, 'subdue emotions', or similar, occurs as idealised behaviour in *Khety* (§ 25.3; Jäger 2004: 150); 'Do not speak matters in impatience (*pr-ỉb*), but instead sit down and restrain your emotions'.

E.GA.6138.1943

(Plate 51)

Description: A fragment of a limestone writing tablet measuring c. 6 × 10 cm, with three lines of hieratic in black ink on the front (the back is empty), and four versepoints. The hand is careful, with almost hieroglyphic forms in places (cf. e.g. the full form of 𓎛 in the word *ḫ.t* in line 1). The writing tablet would originally have been rectangular in shape: the fragment belongs to the upper left hand corner. The tablet has been deliberately worked into its current form, and the surface on both sides has been polished to facilitate writing.

Contents: The tablet contains an extract of an unidentified literary text, perhaps written in Late Egyptian (cf. the negation (?) *bw* in line one, and the definite article *p3* in line 3), and probably didactic in nature.

Translation:

1 [...] the heart. • not free of property [...]
2 [...] perfect, • he being saved from all evil •
3 [...] the three •

Hieratic commentary:

Line 1: There is a smudged area at the very end of the line, written partly on the edge; probably traces of palimpsest.

Commentary:

Line 1: On the expression *šw m ḫ(r)t*, compare *Man for his Son*, § 4.5 (Fischer-Elfert 1999: I, 72–73), although here it seems to be negated by the Late Egyptian element *bw*.

E.GA.6139.1943

(Plate 52)

Description: A pottery sherd measuring c. 12 × 9 cm, with eight lines of hieratic in black ink on the front (i.e. the outside of the vessel), with traces of two versepoints; the back is empty.

Contents: A narrative text with legalistic phrases: the two versepoints are certain but curious, suggesting that it is not a legal document per se.

Translation:

1 [...]
2 [...], • and when I was sleeping [...]
3 in effecting the transgression against you, • and [...]
4 Give him the loincloth, while [...]
5 one who knows how to turn back an accusation [...]
6 the [...] lie (?) [...]
7 There is no cattle-tax [...]
8 [...]

Commentary:

Line 4: On the meaning of the word *sḏw*, often translated 'loincloth', see the commentary of E.GA.6130.1943, line 4.

Line 5: The expression *p3 rḫ ʿnn*, 'one who knows how to turn back an accusation' is discussed by Vernus (2003: 323–324). On *ʿnn wšb*, see Green (1980).

Line 7: The reading of *ỉrw* seems certain, but the meaning is not. The orthography with the determinatives appears to be deliberate, suggesting the word 'cattle-tax' (Wb. 1, 114.4–5).

E.GA.6140.1943

(Plate 53)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 10 × 8 cm, with five vertical columns of cursive hieroglyphs in black ink on the front, with black dividing lines and a standing figure of Anubis. The back has largely illegible traces of a single column of text; only the name 'Osiris' is readable.

Contents: The ostracon seems to be a trial piece for tomb decoration or a mortuary object, and the text itself is funerary in nature.

Translation:

1 Spoken by Anubis the Embalmer and Osiris […]
2 There is no tiredness, there is no satisfaction […]
3 falsehood.
4 Spoken
5 before Duamutef […]

E.GA.6141.1943

(Plate 62)

Description: A fragment of a limestone writing tablet measuring c. 8 × 14 cm, with thirteen lines of hieratic on the front, written in black ink with six rubrics in red; the back is empty. The surface on the recto is worked into a smooth finish but is now much disturbed by salts which results in many small flakes coming off it; originally it would probably have been rectangular in shape.

Contents: Medical recipes for a female patient, although the fragmentary nature of the text means it is difficult to get a sense of meaning, and the transcription of most lines is tentative at best. Several of the readings were suggested by R.J. Demarée and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert. The presence of a medical text is very rare in the written record from Deir el-Medina, and disproves earlier assumptions that such texts were not in circulation there (*pace* Roccati 1984: 24).

Translation:

1 […illegible …]
2 […] land (?). Another (remedy): […]
3 […] in the throat on [the right side (?) …]
4 […] another (?) of its (remedies?): Chufa, […] sacks (?)
5 […] king of (?) […] blind man […]
6 […] in three months […]
7 […] upon her body; it will be good […]
8 […] and she will feel well (?) immediately. When [you] investigate […]
9 […] into one solution with 1/16 oipe of sweet beer […]

10 [...] rubbed with water [of? ...]
11 [...] for four [days]. <u>As for</u> [...]
12–13 [... illegible ...]

Hieratic commentary:

Line 4: The reading of *k.t=s* is perhaps forced; the preceding signs in red would be irregular from a structural point of view, and I know of no parallels for this form or meaning.

Line 8: The rubric at the end is probably the formula *ỉr ḫ3[=k]*, 'when [you] investigate', common in medical texts.

Commentary:

Line 3: The reading of 'right' is plausible; for another example of the word applied to a side of the human body, see the magical spell on O. Gardiner 300, line 2 (Černý and Gardiner 1957: pl. XCI, no. 1), where the word is used to distinguish between the 'right arm' (*ḫpš ỉmny*) and the 'left arm' (*ḫpš smḫy*).

Line 4: On the identification of *wʿḥ* as the rhizomes of *Cyperus esculentus*, 'chufa', also known as 'earth almonds' or 'tiger nuts' (rather than the old identification 'carob beans', cf. Faulkner 1962: 58), see Wilson (1988) and Germer (1979: 134–138). These nuts are produced by the root system of the plant, and were extensively used for baking in pharaonic Egypt, particularly in connection with sweet cakes and other types of confectionary (Wilson 1988: 216). It is well attested as an ingredient in medical recipes, sometimes in association with female illnesses (Germer 1979: 135–136; cf. below).

Line 7: The mention of 'her body' (*ḫt=s*) suggests that the text refers to a female patient.

Line 8: I take [...] *nḏm–s(y) ḥr ʿwy* to be an adjectival sentence, with *ḥr ʿwy* in the temporal sense of 'at once', 'immediately'. I know of no parallels for the meaning 'feel good' for *nḏm*, but this seems to fit the context well.

Line 10: To 'rub' (*sỉn*) something into a body part is not uncommon as part of the application of treatments in medical texts, but to do so with any kind of 'water' (*mw*) seems otherwise unattested (Westendorf 1961–1962: II, 716–717).

E.GA.6142.1943

(Plate 63)

Description: A limestone ostracon measuring c. 9 × 18 cm, with a row of seated gods, followed by one line of hieratic in red ink, and then three lines in black ink, on the front; the back is empty.

Contents: A magical text for the production of an amulet; both in contents and appearance it is reminiscent of, but not identical to, P. DeM I, verso (Černý 1978: pls. 9–16a).

Translation:

1 <u>[Spell for] making a *wedjat*-eye for seeking out breath for one who is dying (under the influence of):</u>
2 [...] Osiris (?), Horus [...], Seth (?), Repu, Isis [...]
3 [...] Thoth, Anubis, Wepw[awet ...]
4 [illegible]

Commentary:

Line 1: For the expression *ḫry mwt*, see a magical text from the library of Qenherkhepshef and his family where the patient is described as *s nty ḫr mwt*, 'a man who is dying' (P. Deir el-Medina I, verso 1.5, 1.8, 2.4, 5.5, 5.7; Černý 1978: pls. 9–10, 13a). In that text the 'dying' is mostly linked to various gods, e.g. 'A man who is dying under the influence of Ptah' (*ḫry mwt n Ptḥ*), which may be an allusion to the connection between various body parts and gods in magico-medical texts (e.g. P. Geneva MAH 15274, recto 1; Massart 1957: 174–175), but in at least one case the god is not specified (verso 5.7). For the 'vignette' with seated gods above the text, compare the figures associated with another spell in the same papyrus, where above the seated gods, each identified by iconography or hieroglyphs inserted above their head, the text lists the gods by name (Černý 1978: pl. 15a). The gods on O. E.GA.6142.1943 were presumably identified in a similar manner, but the top is lost and so the iconography of the heads is frequently indistinct. Nonetheless, the strokes used to draw the figures differ in several cases, showing that the heads would originally not have been identical to each other (e.g. some have traces of beards, others clearly had no beards).

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ỉỉ-nỉwt-f	Iy⟨er⟩niutef (E.GA.6119.1943, 4)
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ỉmn-m-ỉpt	Amenemope (E.GA.6124.1943, I.5)
ỉmn-msw	Amenmose (E.GA.6119.1943, II.5)
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wɜḏ-ms	Wadjmose (E.GA.6130.1943, 11; E.GA.6119.1943, I.9)
wn-nfr	Wennefer (E.GA.6119.1943, vs. 1)
pɜy	Pay (E.GA.6135.1943, 1, vs. 1)
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p(ɜ)-n-pɜ-mr	Penpamer (E.GA.6121.1943, 1)
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p(ɜ)-n-dwɜ	Pendua (E.GA.6119.1943, I.4)
pɜ-rʿ[. . .]	Pare[. . .] (E.GA.6123.1943, 3)
pɜ-sr	Paser (E.P.489, 3)
pɜ-dỉ-ḫ[. . .]	Padikh[. . .] (E.GA.6125.1943, vs. 2)
bw-ḳn-tw-f	Bukentuef (E.GA.6119.1943, vs. 2)
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nɜḫy	Nakhy (E.GA.6119.1943, I.8)
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nb-nṯr.w	Nebnetjeru (E.58.1946, 1; E.GA.6122.1943, I.6)
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ḥrỉ-nfr	Horinefer (E.GA.6119.1943, I.5)
ḥḥ-nḫw	Hehnakhu (E.GA.6119.1943, II.1)
ḫɜwt	Khaut (E.GA.6122.1943, I.2)
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ḫn-sw-m-ḥb	Khonsuemhab (E.GA.6123.1943, 5)
s-ʿɜ	Seaa (E.GA.6122.1943, I.2)
sɜ-wɜḏyt	Sawadjet (E.GA.6119.1943, I.6)
ḳn-ḥr-ḫpš-f	Qenherkhepshef (E.GA.6119.1943, I.3)
kɜry	Kary (E.GA.6122.1943, I.4)
twr	Tur (E.GA.6130.1943, 1)
tw-rw[. . .]	Turu[. . .] (E.58.1946, 1)
dwɜ-f	Duauf (E.GA.6124.1943, I.1)
ḏdw-mʿ	Djeduma (E.GA.6122.1943, I.3)

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ỉʿḥ-ḥtp	Ahhotep (E.GA.6132.1943, 4)
wsr⟨.t⟩-kɜw	User⟨et⟩kau (Hatshepsut's Horus name) (E.GA.6131.1943, 1)
nb.t-tɜ.wy	Mistress of the Two Lands (E.GA.6131.1943, 1)
nṯr-nfr	perfect god (E.GA.6131.1943, 1)
ḥḳɜ.t-ỉp.t (?)	ruler of Opet (E.GA.6131.1943, 2)

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ꜣst Isis (E.GA.6142.1943, 2)
ỉʿrt Iaret (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 1, 5 (?))
ỉʿḥ-ḏḥwty Iah-Thoth (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 2)
ỉmn Amun (E.GA.6130.1943, 3; E.GA.6132.1943, 4; E.GA.6133.1943, 1; E.GA.6134.1943, 2, 4, vs. 1)
ỉmn-rʿ Amun-Re (E.70.1926, 2; E.GA.6130.1943, 2; E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
[ỉmn-kꜣ]-mwt=f [Amun Ka]mutef (E.GA.6133.1943, 3)
[ỉtm]-ḫprỉ [Atum]-Khepri (E.GA.6133.1943, 4)
ỉnpw Anubis (E.GA.6140.1943, 1; E.GA.6142.1943, 3)
wꜣḏ.ty The Two Uraei (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
wp-wꜣwt Wepwawet (E.GA.6142.1943, 3)
wrt Weret (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 1)
wsỉr Osiris (E.GA.6140.1943, 1, vs. 1)
mwt Mut (E.GA.6130.1943, 3)
rʿ Re (E.74.1926, 1; E.GA.6121.1943, 3)
rpw Repu (E.GA.6142.1943, 2)
ḥr Horus (E.56.1946, vs. 1; E.GA.6142.1943, 2)
ḥḏ.ty The Two White Ones (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
ḫnsw Khonsu (E.GA.6130.1943, 3)
stḫ Seth (E.GA.6142.1943, 2)
šw Shu (E.GA.6135.1943, vs. 2; E.56.1946, 2)
ḏwꜣ-mwt=f Duamutef (E.GA.6140.1943, 5)
ḏḥwty Thoth (E.GA.6129.1943, 3, 7 (?); E.GA.6142.1943, 3)

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ỉꜣrw Field of Reeds (E.56.1946, 1)
ỉp.t Karnak (E.GA.6133.1943, 1)
wꜣs.t Thebes (E.67.1926, 1?, 2?)
ỉwnw Heliopolis (E.GA.6130.1943, 3, E.56.1946, 4, vs. 3; E.4758.1943, 3)
ḥwt-kꜣ-Ptḥ Memphis (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 4)
kš Kush (E.GA.6129.1943, 2)

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ỉry-ʿꜣ doorkeeper (E.GA.6121.1943, 1)
ʿꜣ-n-ỉs.t (?) foreman (E.103.1949, vs. 5; E.GA.6119.1943, I.2)
ms n ḥr "child of the tomb" (E.GA.6123.1943, 1)
mḏꜣy ranger (E.GA.6123.1943, 3)
sš scribe (E.58.1946, 2; E.GA.6130.1930, 1; E.GA.6119.1943, I.3; E.GA.6121.1943, 4)
sš wdḥ.w scribe of the offering table (E.58.1946, 1)
sš nsw royal scribe (E.56.1946, 1)
sš ḳd draughtsman (E.GA.6135.1943, 1)

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ꜣ.t moment [for *ỉꜣ.t*, 'mound'] (E.GA.6128.1943, 1)
ꜣw(.t) long, length (E.GA.6137.1943, 6; E.4758.1943, 2)
ꜣw.t-ỉb joy (E.70.1926, 1)
ꜣbd month (E.GA.6128.1943, 5; E.103.1949, 1; E.103.1949, vs. 1, 4; E.GA.6141.1943, 6)
ꜣḥ.t field (E.75.1926, 2)
ꜣḫ beneficial (E.GA.6128.1943, 2)
ꜣšrty roast beef (E.56.1946, 5)

ȝs hurry (E.68.1926, 13)
ỉȝ.w praise (E.74.1926, 1)
ỉȝb.t East (E.74.1926, 2)
ỉȝd.t cattle (E.GA.6128.1943, 4)
ỉt father (E.56.1946, vs. 3; E.GA.6116.1943, 2)
ỉỉ come, arrive (E.GA.6128.1943, 3; E.GA.6130.1943, 10)
ỉwn character (E.GA.6137.1943, 5)
ỉb heart (E.GA.6133.1943, 5; E.GA.6134.1943, 5, vs. 1)
ỉb-ḫrt (?) rejoice (?) (E.GA.6134.1943, 1)
ỉnỉ bring (E.GA.6135.1943, vs. 3; E.P.489, 3)
ỉnḥ.t type of jar (E.GA.6132.1943, 3)
ỉrỉ make, do, create (E.GA.6133.1943, 3; E.GA.6139.1943, 1; E.76.1926, 1; E.4758.1943, 4; E.GA.6118.1943, 1, 4, 6; E.GA.6142.1943, 1)
ỉr.w cattle-tax (E.GA.6139.1943, 7)
ỉr.t (evil?) eye (E.GA.6129.1943, 5)
ỉrp wine (E.GA.6132.1943, 3)
ỉṯy wooden beam (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 2b)
ỉṯ take (? E.68.1926, 5, 6; E.GA.6124.1943, I.2)
wỉȝ turn away (E.GA.6130.1943, 9)
wȝḥ place (E.GA.6129.1943, 6)
wȝḥ-mw libation-offering (E.GA.6123.1943, 4)
wȝḥ-ỉb kindness (E.GA.6128.1943, 2; E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 6)
wʿf make downcast (E.GA.6129.1943, 5)
wʿb purify (E.56.1946, 1)
wʿḥ chufa, earth almonds / tiger beans (E.GA.6141.1943, 4)
wbȝ courtyard (E.GA.6134.1943, 3)
wbn rise (E.GA.6133.1943, 7; E.GA.6134.1943, 2, vs. 1, 3)
wpỉ judgment, dispute, report, court (E.71.1926, 3; E.GA.6130.1943, 11; E.GA.6137.1943, 2, 5; E.GA.6116.1943, 4)
wnw.t hour (E.GA.6132.1943, 6)
wnn be, exist (E.GA.6130.1943, 4, 7; E.GA.6134.1943, 6, vs. 1, 2, 3; E.68.1926, 2)
wr great, big (E.68.1926, 5)
wḥm again, repeat (E.GA.6124.1943, I.4, I.5, II.2)
wḥ.t settlement (E.GA.6116.1943, 1)
wḫȝ column (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 2a, 1b)
wḫȝ seek out, secure (E.GA.6142.1943, 1)
wsr powerful (E.GA.6133.1943, 1)
wš missing (E.GA.6132.1943, 3 (?); E.56.1946, 6, vs. 1, 2, 3, 4)
wšb answer, accuse (E.GA.6139.1943, 5)
wḏ column, pole (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 5b)
wḏȝ be whole, healthy (E.4758.1943, 1)
wḏȝ *wḏȝ*-eye (E.GA.6142.1943, 1)
wḏʿ judge (E.GA.6137.1943, 4, 6)
ʿȝ great, big (E.GA.6133.1943, 4)
ʿwn (?) greedy (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 5)
ʿ(ȝ)b.t offerings (E.GA.6132.1943, 5)
ʿnn turn back, repel (E.GA.6128.1943, 3; E.GA.6139.1943, 5)
ʿnḫ life, live (E.GA.6128.1943, 3; E.GA.6132.1943, 4; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 4; E.4758.1943, 1, 4)
ʿnd few (E.GA.6128.1943, 5)
ʿrḳy final day of month (E.GA.6117.1943, 8)
ʿḥȝ fight (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 1)
ʿḥʿ number, heap, list (E.GA.6124.1943, vs. 1; E.103.1949, vs. 1, 4)
ʿḥʿ.t tomb (E.GA.6124.1943, I.1)
ʿšȝ many (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 1; E.GA.6137.1943, 3)
ʿḳ.w food, rations (E.GA.6123.1943, 2)
pʿ.t people (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
pʿ.t *pʿt*-bread (E.GA.6123.1943, 2, 4)

pr go out, appear (E.GA.6133.1943, 6; E.GA.6137.1943, 5)
pr house (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 4b)
pr.t Peret-season (E.GA.6128.1943, 5)
pr-ʿɜ king, palace (E.GA.6130.1943, 8, vs. 6a)
pḥ approach (E.GA.6134.1943, 3)
pḥ.ty back, behind (E.GA.6130.1943, 7)
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ptrỉ look (E.GA.6132.1943, 2)
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bɜ.w powers (E.4758.1943, 3)
bɜk servant (E.4758.1943, 1, 3, 5)
bʿḥ inundation (E.67.1926, 1)
bnbn *bnbn*-stone (E.56.1946, vs. 3, 4)
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mɜʿ.t maʾat (E.GA.6133.1943, 2)
mɜʿ.ty just (E.GA.6133.1943, 1)
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mw.t mother (E.GA.6123.1943, 2)
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mn(.t) remaining, remainder (E.GA.6118.1943, 1, 4, 6, vs. 2; E.GA.6124.1943, II.1, 4, 5)
mnỉ moor (E.56.1946, vs. 2)
mn.t type of jar (E.GA.6132.1943, 3)
mn.w monuments (E.GA.6128.1943, 2)
mnd breast (E.GA.6133.1943, 4)
mnḏm basket (E.GA.6118.1943, 5)
mrỉ love, want (E.GA.6128.1943, 2; E.GA.6129.1943, 6; E.GA.6133.1943, 7; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 2; E.GA.6137.1943, 6; E.68.1926, 10; E.4758.1943, 1, 2, 5)
mrḥ.t fat (E.GA.6118.1943, 3)
mḥy feathers (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
mḥʿ.t fibre (? E.GA.6128.1943, 3)
mḫɜ.t scales (? E.56.1946, vs. 1)
msddt hateful (E.GA.6137.1943, 3)
md.t speech, word (E.GA.6129.1943, 4; E.GA.6137.1943, 6)
nỉw.t town, settlement (E.GA.6128.1943, 1; E.GA.6133.1943, 7)
nwỉ look, see (E.GA.6129.1943, 7)
nw.t yarn (E.GA.6135.1943, 2)
nb lord (E.56.1946, vs. 2; E.4758.1943, 1)
nb(.t) everyone, everything (E.GA.6128.1943, 4; E.GA.6133.1943, 3; E.GA.6134.1943, 4, vs. 3; E.GA.6138.1943, 2; E.4758.1943, 4, 5)
nb.t a room in a palace (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 6a)
nbw gold (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 5b)
nfr good, beautiful (E.GA.6125.1943, 3; E.GA.6128.1943, 2; E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 4; E.GA.6133.1943, 4, 8; E.GA.6135.1943, 4; E.GA.6138.1943, 2; E.68.1926, 3; E.4758.1943, 5 E.GA.6141.1943, 7)
nmḥ orphan (E.GA.6134.1943, 6)
nmt.t steps (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 3)
nnỉ tiredness (E.GA.6140.1943, 2)
nry powerful (E.GA.6137.1943, 6)
nḥb collection (? E.GA.6116.1943, 3)
nḥḥ eternity (E.70.1926, 1; E.4758.1943, 2)

nswt king (E.GA.6130.1943, 2; E.GA.6141.1943, 5)
nṯr(.w) god(s) (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 3; E.GA.6130.1943, 2, 3; E.GA.6133.1943, 1; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 2; E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 4; E.4758.1943, 4)
nḏ-ḥr greetings (E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
nḏ-ḥrt greet (E.GA.6130.1943, 1)
nḏm sweet, fine (E.75.1926, 4; E.GA.6132.1943, 5; E.GA.6141.1943, 8, 9)
r mouth (E.GA.6129.1943, 4, 5)
rʿ day (E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 3; E.4758.1943, 5)
rm.w fish (E.103.1949, vs. 1, 2, 3)
rmṯ people (E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 2; E.GA.6122.1943, I.1)
rn name (E.GA.6133.1943, 1, 2, 3)
rnp.t year (E.103.1949, vs. 3, 5; E.GA.6120.1943, 1)
rd sandal-soles (E.GA.6118.1943, 2)
rḫ know, be able to (E.GA.6139.1943, 4; E.68.1926, 1)
ḥp restrain (E.GA.6137.1943, 3)
ḥbḥb traverse (E.63.1946, 1)
ḥnw *ḥnw*-measure (E.GA.6118.1943, 3)
ḥrw day (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 4; E.GA.6130.1943, 4, 5; E.GA.6135.1943, 4; E.68.1926, 11; E.103.1949, 1 E.GA.6141.1943, 11)
ḥɜ 'would that' (E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 5)
ḥɜ.t front (E.GA.6133.1943, 5; E.GA.6136.1943, 2)
ḥɜ.ty heart (E.GA.6138.1943, 1)
ḥʿʿ rejoice (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 3, 5)
ḥw.t domain (E.56.1946, vs. 3, 4)
ḥbs clothes (E.GA.6129.1943, 3; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 3)
ḥnmm.t sun-worshippers (E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
ḥnḳ.t beer (E.GA.6132.1943, 3 E.GA.6141.1943; E.GA.6141.1943, 9)
ḥr face (E.GA.6133.1943, 4; E.GA.6134.1943, 5)
ḥs favour, grace, praise (E.GA.6130.1943, 2, 4; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 2)
ḥkk restrain (E.GA.6137.1943, 1)
ḥtp peace (E.GA.6137.1943, 5)
ḥtp.w offerings (E.GA.6128.1943, 4; E.GA.6133.1943, 2)
ḫ.(w)t thing(s) (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 4; E.GA.6138.1943, 1; E.76.1926; E.GA.6141.1943, 9)
ḫ.t flame (E.56.1946, vs. 6)
ḫɜ (copper) chisel/tool (E.GA.6124.1943, 1, vs. 1)
ḫɜʿ investigate, diagnose (E.GA.6141.1943, 8)
ḫɜ.t hall (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 4b)
ḫɜsw.t foreign lands (E.63.1946, 1)
ḫʿ appear (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 5)
ḫbỉ destroy (E.GA.6128.1943, 1)
ḫpr happen (E.GA.6137.1943, 2; E.GA.6137.1943, 4)
ḫrw voice (E.4758.1943, 3)
ḫftỉ.w enemies (E.68.1926, 7)
ḫm forget, ignore (E.75.1926, 2)
ḫm.t prepare, plan (E.GA.6128.1943, 3)
ḫnt foremost (E.56.1946, 3)
ḫn.t animal skin (E.GA.6129.1943, 3)
ḫns travel (E.63.1946, 1)
ḫr say (E.GA.6116.1943, 4)
ḫr.t condition, affairs (E.76.1926, 2)
ḫrp (?) taxes, dues (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 7)
ḫḫ throat, neck, breath (?) (E.GA.6141.1943, 3; E.GA.6142.1943, 1)
ḫsf draw near (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 3)
ḫsf punish (E.GA.6133.1943, 1)
ḫt wood, plank (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 2a, 3a, 4a, 5a, 6a, 7a, 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b; E.103.1949, vs. 4, 5; E.GA.6118.1943, 7)
ḫdỉ sail (E.75.1926, 4)
ḫ.t body, emotion (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 4, 6; E.GA.6141.1943, 7)

ḫ3r sack (E.GA.6118.1943, 1, 4, 6, vs. 4; E.GA.6141.1943, 4)
ḫʿḳ shave (E.77.1926, 1)
ḫnw residence / home (E.68.1926, 9)
ḫnm embody (?) (E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 4)
ḫnḫn approach (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
ḫr.t (yearly) due, quota (E.103.1949, vs. 3, 5)
s man (E.GA.6128.1943, 2; E.GA.6137.1943, 4, 5; E.56.1946, 3)
s.t place (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 2)
s3 (?) amulet (E.GA.6129.1943, 6)
s3ỉ.t plank, beam (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 3a, 5a, 6a, 3b)
s3šr.t type of bread (E.56.1946, 6)
sỉn rub (E.GA.6141.1943, 10)
sʿnḫ make live (E.GA.6133.1943, 3)
sw.t wheat (E.GA.6123.1943, 4)
sb3 doorway (E.GA.6128.1943, 3)
sp-sn very much (E.56.1946, vs. 4; E.68.1926, 13)
spr petition (E.GA.6137.1943, 4)
sfn kind (E.GA.6128.1943, 4)
sfn last year (E.GA.6130.1943, 7; E.P.489, 4)
sm3 kill (E.71.1926, 3)
sm3 renew (E.GA.6137.1943, 6)
sm3ʿ swear (an oath) (E.GA.6132.1943, 4)
snb health (E.GA.6130.1943, 4, 5; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 4; E.4758.1943, 2)
srf hot (E.GA.6137.1943, 2)
sḫwn dispute (E.GA.6137.1943, 4)
sḫm power (E.GA.6133.1943, 1)
sḥ hall (E.GA.6137.1943, 3)
sḥb adorned (E.GA.6133.1943, 4)
sḥb be festive (E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
sḥtp (?) pacify (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 2)
sš writing (E.GA.6129.1943, 6; E.68.1926, 2)
sšd cut wood (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 4a, 5a, 6a)
sty smell (E.GA.6132.1943, 5)
sḏ.w loincloth? (E.GA.6130.1943, 7; E.GA.6139.1943, 3)
sḏm listen (E.GA.6130.1943, 12; E.GA.6137.1943, 4)
sḏr sleep (E.GA.6134.1943, 6; E.GA.6139.1943, 1)
šʒy.t dues? (E.GA.6130.1943, 6)
šʿy.t sand (E.75.1926, 5)
šw sun, light (E.GA.6134.1943, 2, 4, vs. 1)
šw empty, without (E.GA.6138.1943, 1)
šm go, depart (E.GA.6130.1943, 9)
šms follow (E.GA.6129.1943, vs. 3; E.GA.6134.1943, 6)
šn.t throat (?) (E.GA.6133.1943, 4)
šnw.t granary (E.GA.6130.1943, 8)
šnd.t acacia (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 3a, 4a)
šrỉ little (E.GA.6132.1943, 2)
šsp take, receive (E.56.1946, 2)
št3 secret (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 2)
šd collect (E.GA.6130.1943, 6)
šd rescue, save (E.GA.6134.1943, 7; E.GA.6138.1943, 2)
ḳʿḥ.t arm, shoulder (E.77.1926, 2)
ḳnb.t *ḳnbt*-court (E.GA.6116.1943, 5, 6)
k3 bull (E.GA.6133.1943, 2)
k3 tall (E.GA.6133.1943, 5)
k3mn blind (E.GA.6141.1943, 5)
k3r sanctuary (E.GA.6128.1943, vs. 1, 2)
kbḥ cool (E.GA.6137.1943, 2)
kbs grain basket (E.GA.6118.1943, 5)

km count, complete (E.GA.6128.1943, 4)
km (?) black (E.GA.6132.1943, 3)
ksm subdue, intimidate (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 6; E.71.1926, 4)
kk.w darkness (E.GA.6134.1943, 3)
gb.w a type of room (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 4)
gɜb (?) a type of basket (?) (E.GA.6135.1943, 3)
gm find (E.GA.6132.1943, 2; E.56.1946, 6, vs. 1, 2, 3, 4)
gr silence (E.GA.6128.1943, 2; E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 4)
grḥ satisfaction (E.GA.6140.1943, 2)
grg found, establish (E.GA.6128.1943, 1)
grg (?) lie, falsehood (E.GA.6139.1943, 6; E.GA.6140.1943, 3)
t bread (E.56.1946, 3, 4; E.P.489, 4)
tɜ land (E.GA.6134.1943, 3)
tɜ.wy the Two Lands (E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
tɜš (?) limits (E.71.1926, 5)
tỉwt sandals (E.GA.6118.1943, 2)
th transgress (E.GA.6139.1943, 2)
tḫỉ (?) drunk (E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 3)
tm negative verb (E.P.489, 3)
tmɜ mat (E.GA.6118.1943, 5)
ṯɜty vizier (E.GA.6130.1943, 6)
[t]ḥḥ touch (E.GA.6133.1943, 6)
dbn deben-weight (E.103.1949, vs. 2, 3; E.GA.6118.1943, 6)
ḏfɜ.w food-offerings (E.GA.6133.1943, 2)
dm speak, mention (E.GA.6134.1943, 5)
dnw threshing-floor (E.GA.6130.1943, 8)
dr remove, relieve (E.70.1926, 2)
dr.t hand (E.GA.6123.1943, 5; E.GA.6124.1943, I.5)
dhn head, temple (E.75.1926, 3)
dgɜ (?) worked, covered in (E.GA.6130.1943, vs. 5b)
ḏ.t eternity (E.4758.1943, 2)
ḏw mountain (E.63.1946, 1)
ḏw.t evil, trouble (E.70.1926, 2; E.GA.6128.1943, 1, 5; E.GA.6138.1943, 2; E.68.1926, 12)
ḏɜ deficit (E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 5)
ḏɜ.t balance, remainder (E.GA.6130.1943, 7)
ḏfɜ.w food-offerings (E.GA. 6133.1943, 2)
ḏd say, speak (E.GA.6130.1943, 11; E.GA.6132.1943, 4; E.GA.6134.1943, vs. 4; E.GA.6135.1943, vs. 1; E.GA.6137.1943, 1; E.GA.6137.1943, vs. 5; E.GA.6140.1943, 1; E.68.1926, 6; E.4758.1943, 1; E.P.489, 2)

PLATES

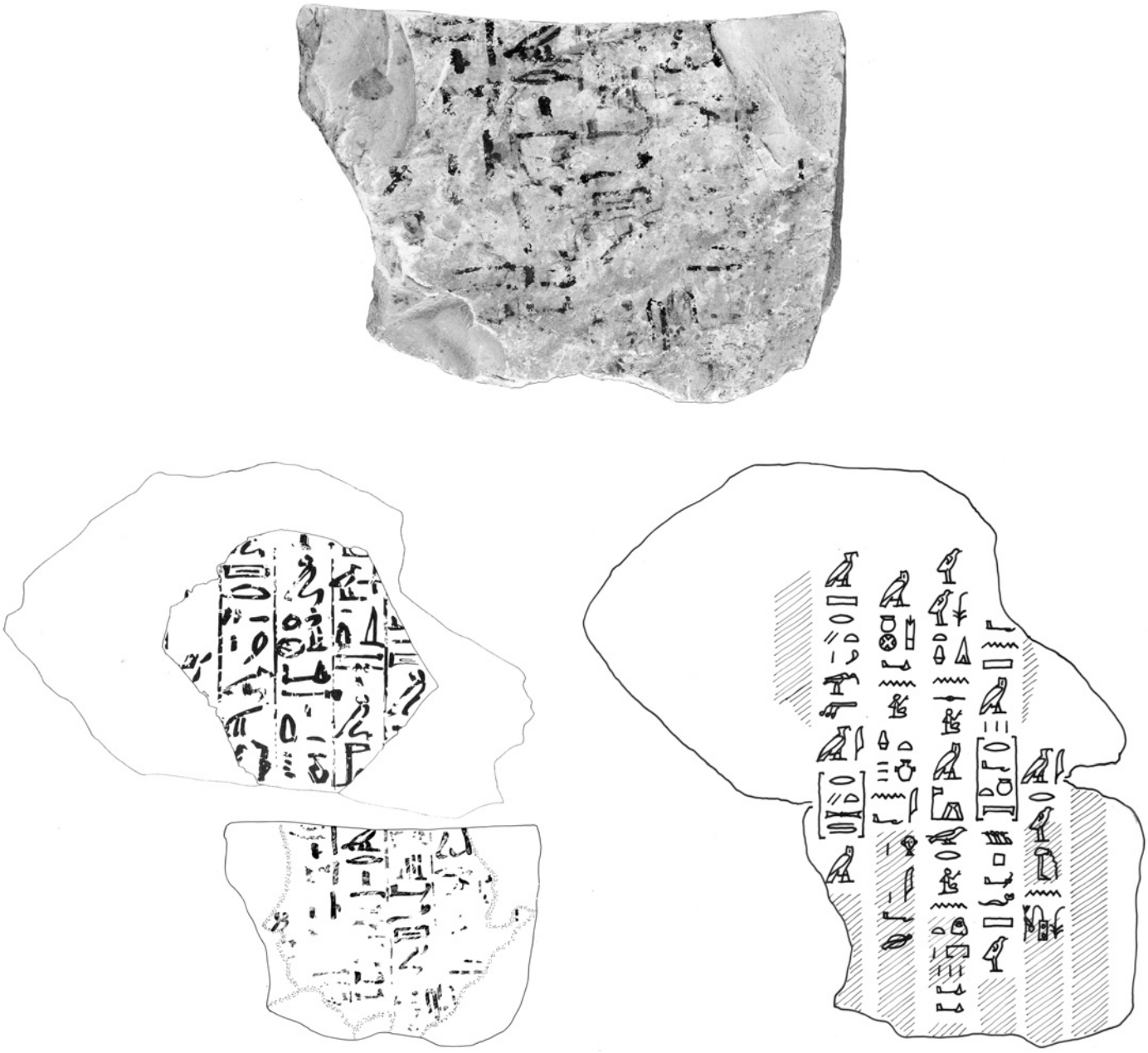

Plate 1. E.56.1946 + O. TT87 (top), front; facsimile of O. TT87 by H. Heye, reproduced by the courtesy of Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo

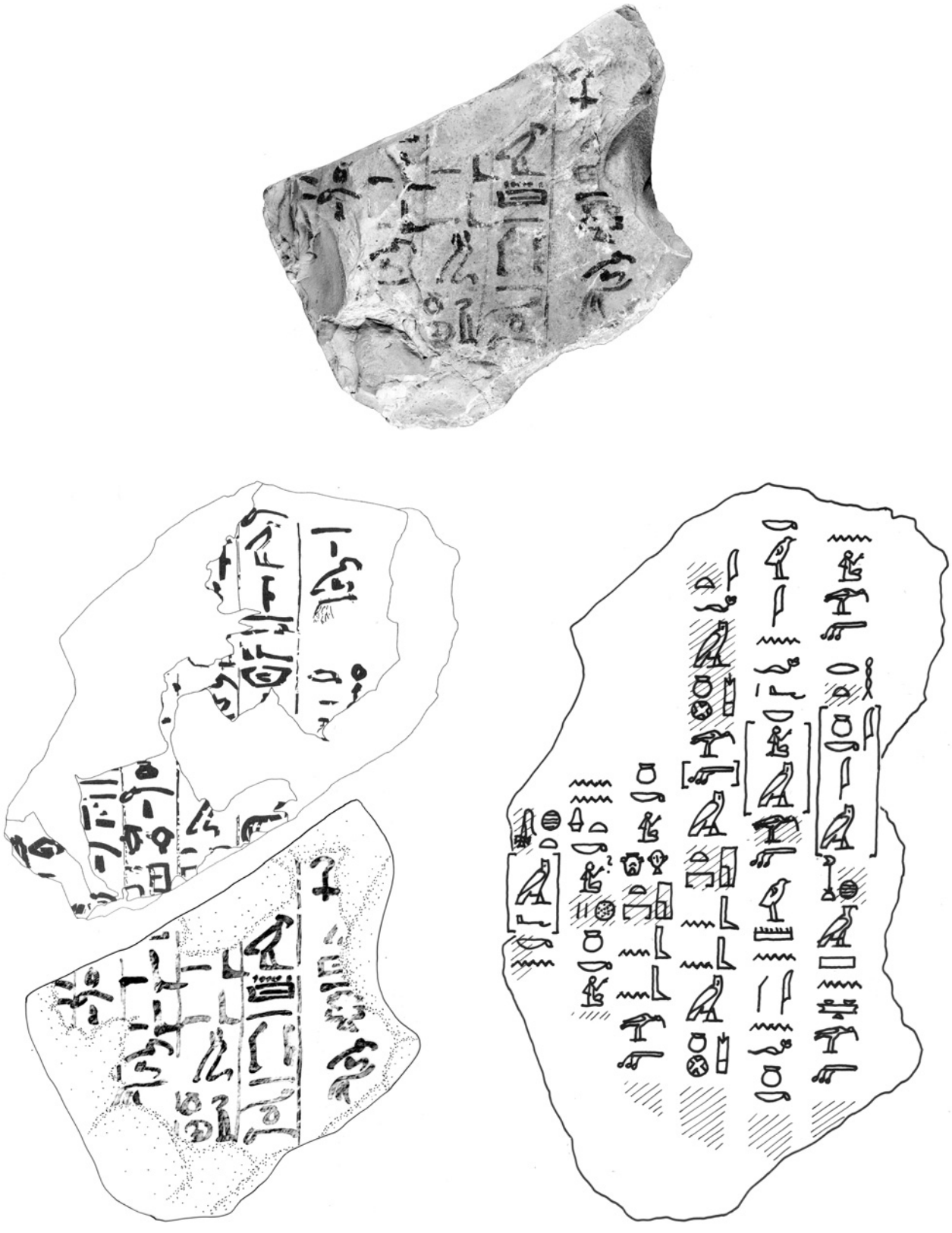

Plate 2. E.56.1946 + O. TT87 (top), back; facsimile of O. TT87 by H. Heye, reproduced by the courtesy of Deutsche Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Kairo

Plate 3. E.57.1946 (top) and E.58.1946 (bottom)

Plate 4. E.63.1946 (top) and E.67.1926 (bottom)

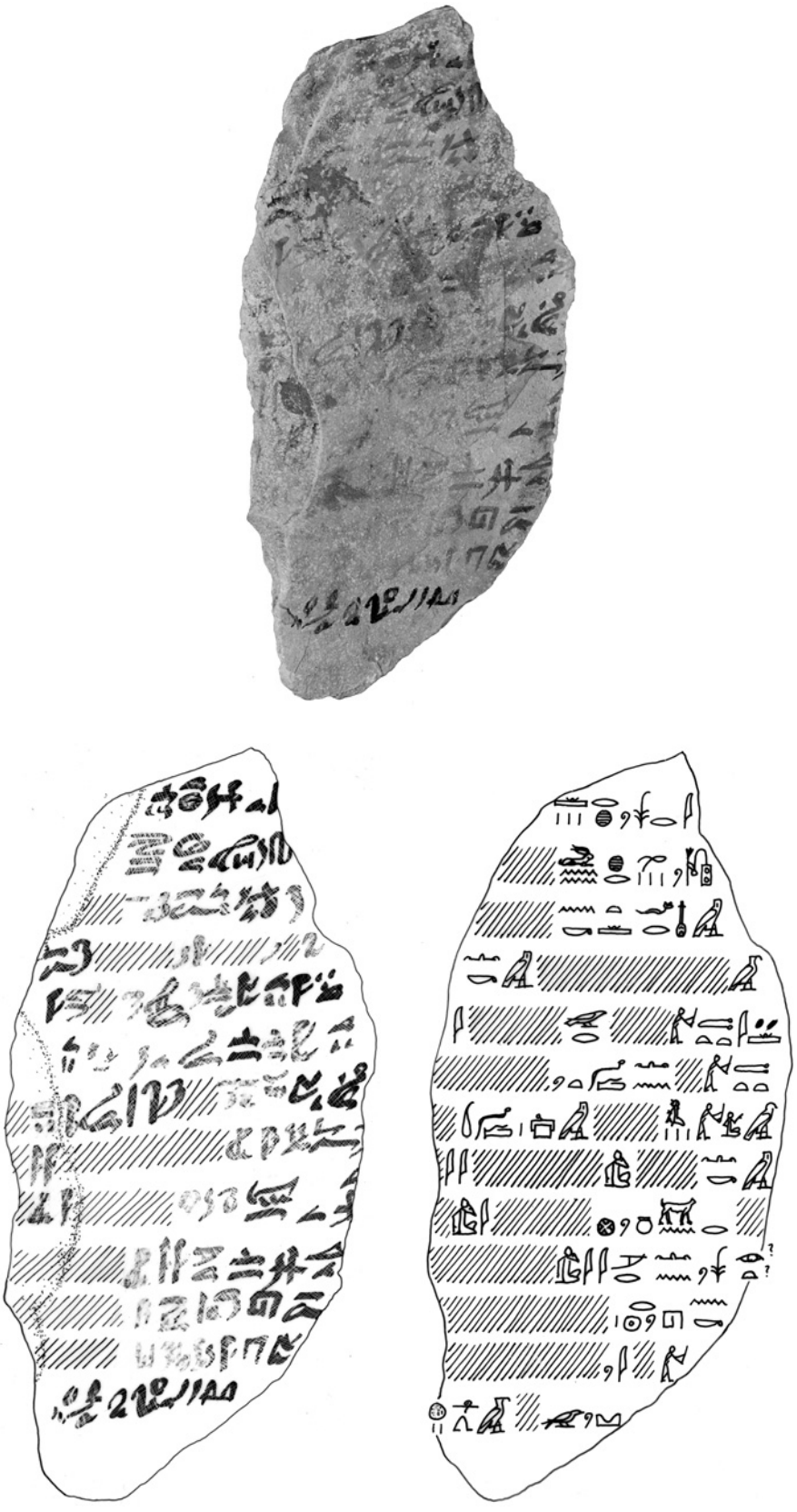

Plate 5. E.68.1926

Plate 6. E.70.1926 (top) and E.71.1926 (bottom)

Plate 7. E.72.1926 (top) and E.74.1926 (bottom)

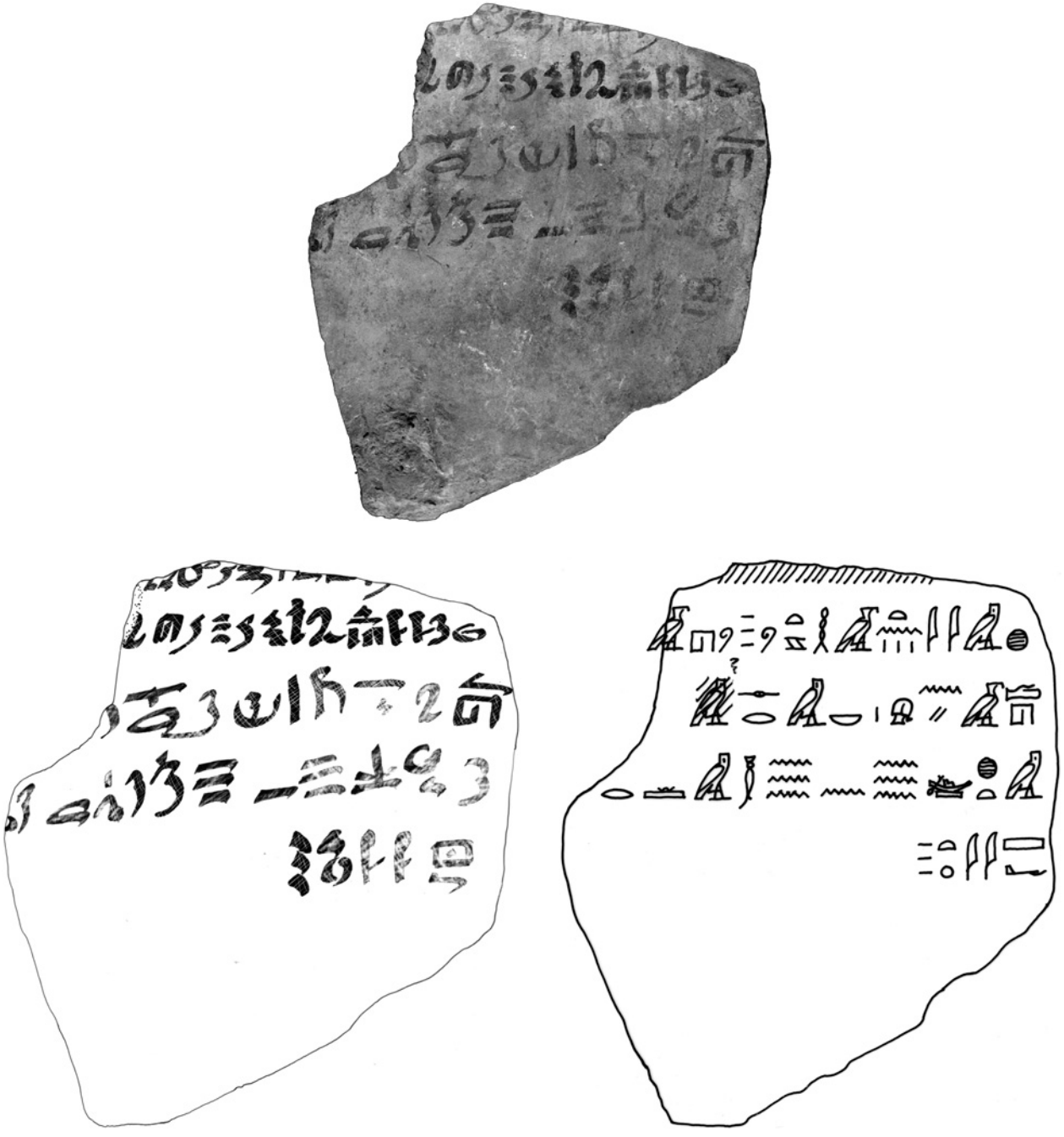

Plate 8. E.75.1926

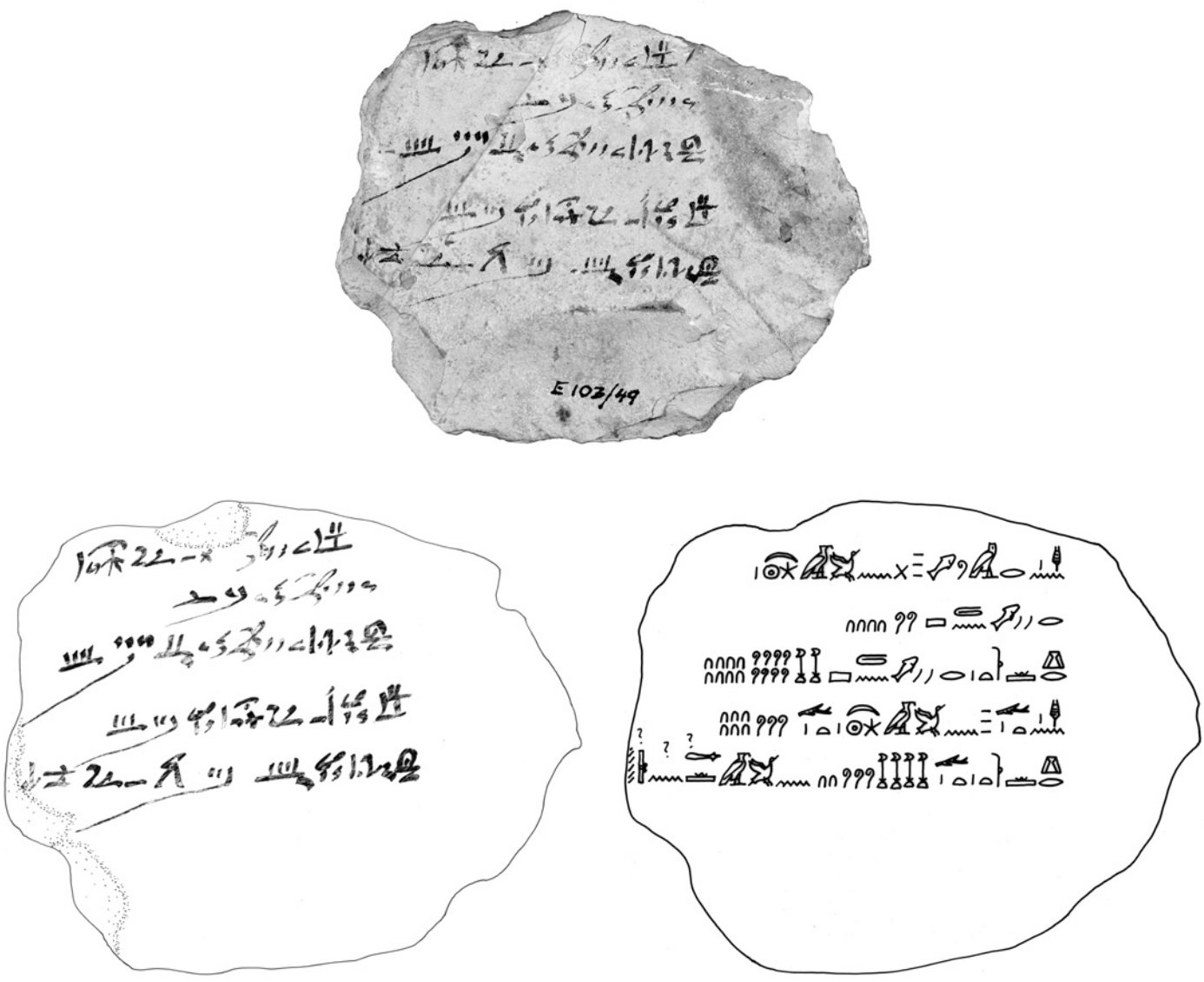

Plate 9. E.103.1949, back

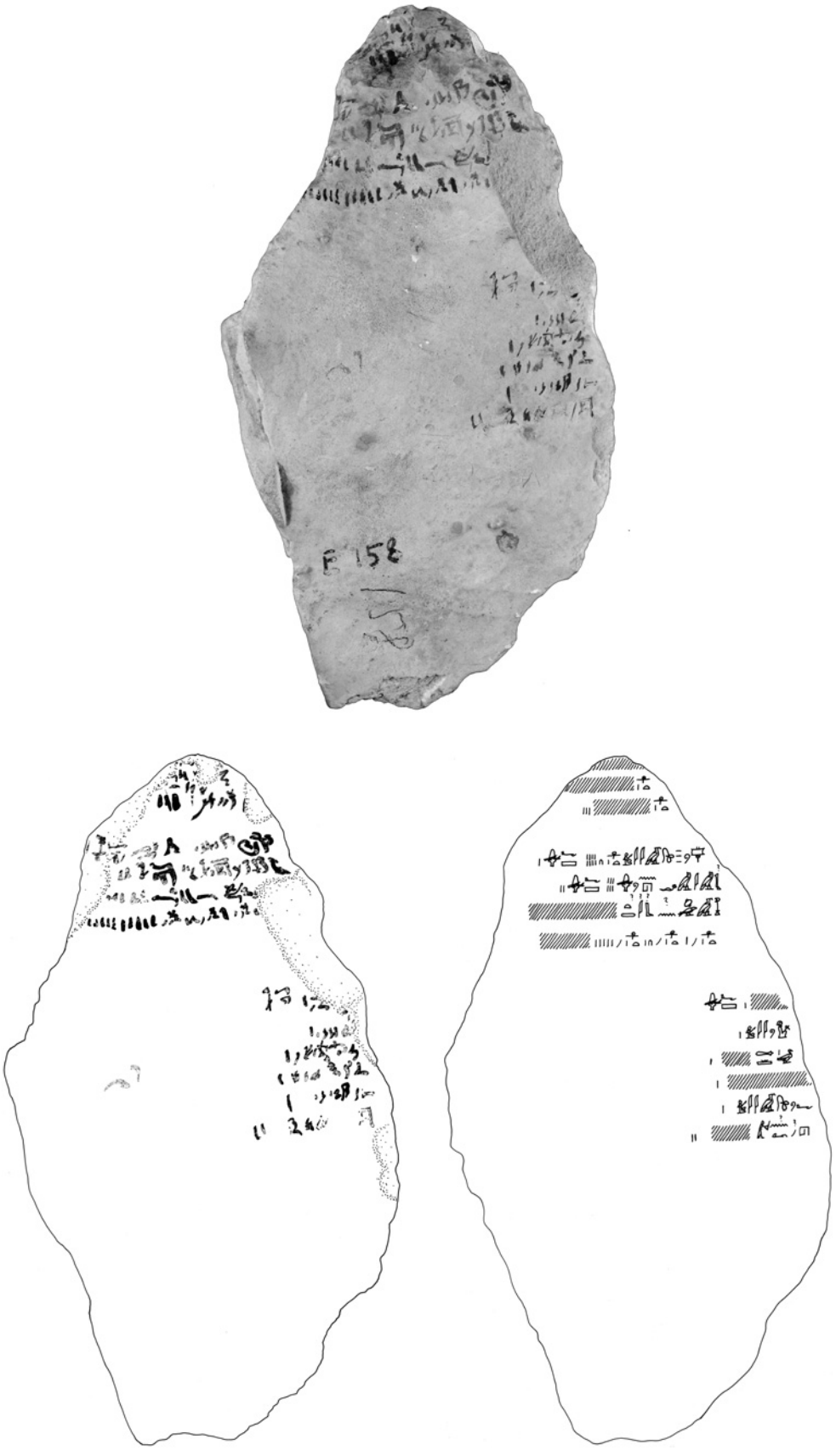

Plate 10. E.128.1900

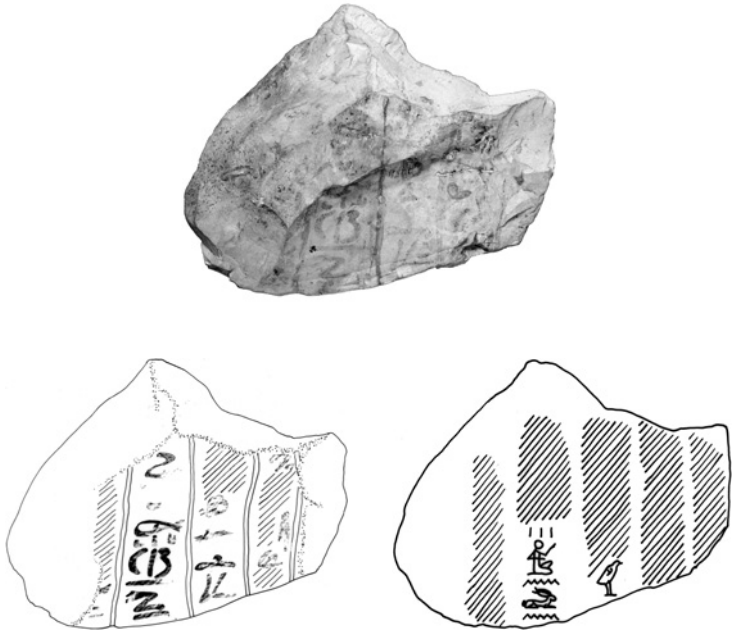

Plate 11. E.4761.1943

Plate 12. E.P.489

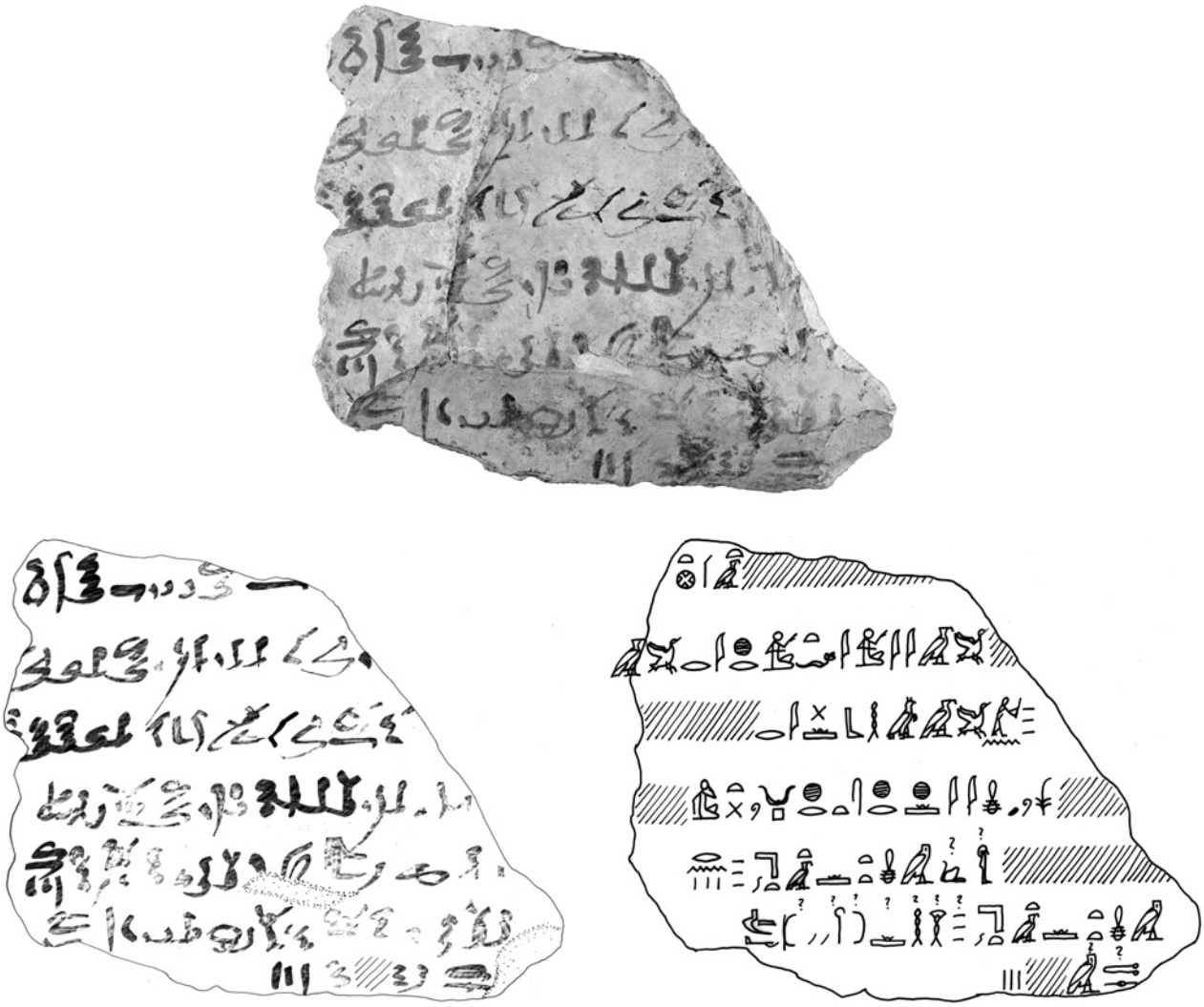

Plate 13. E.GA.6116.1943

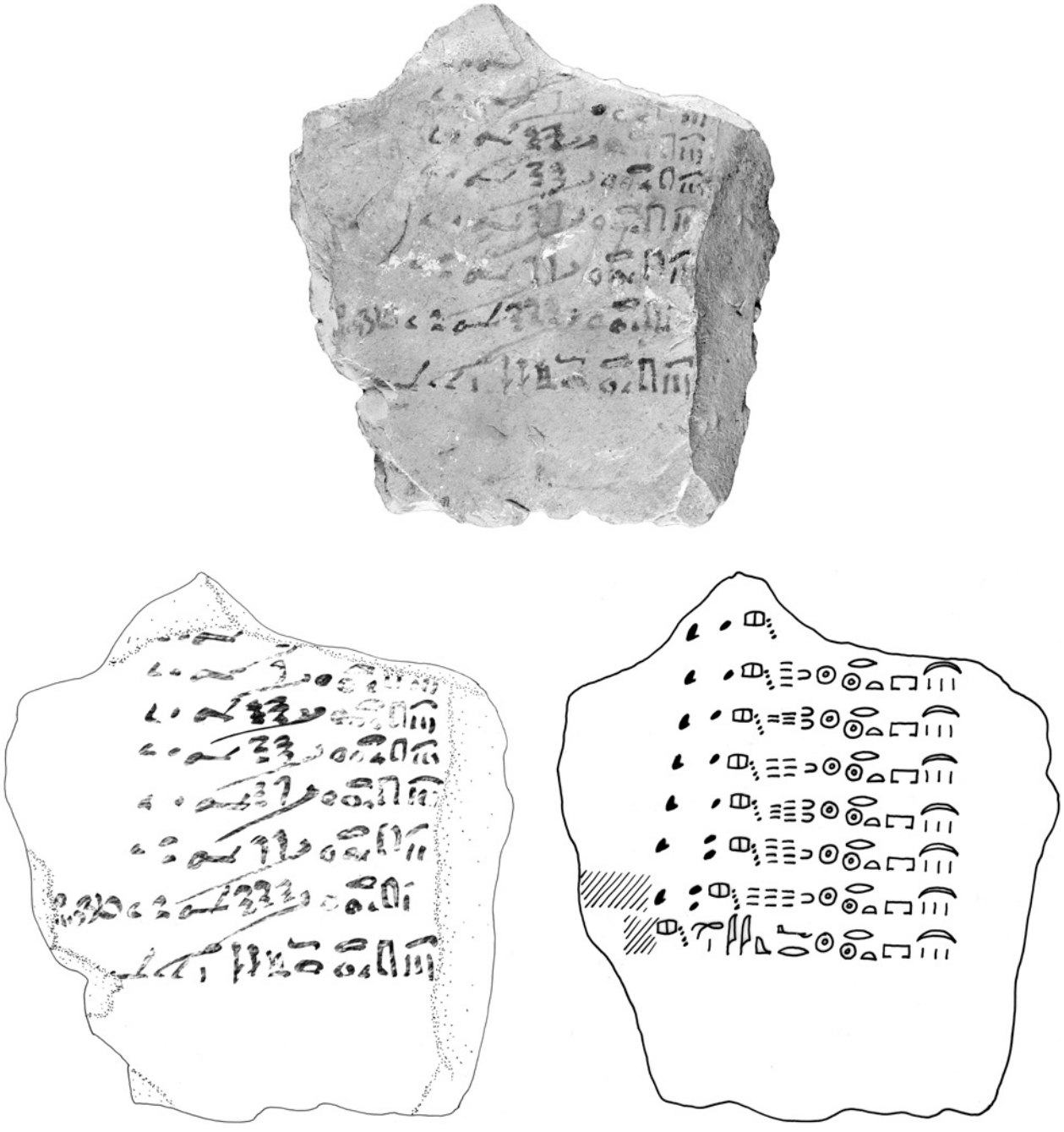

Plate 14. E.GA.6117.1943, front

Plate 15. E.GA.6117.1943, back

Plate 16. E.GA.6118.1943, back

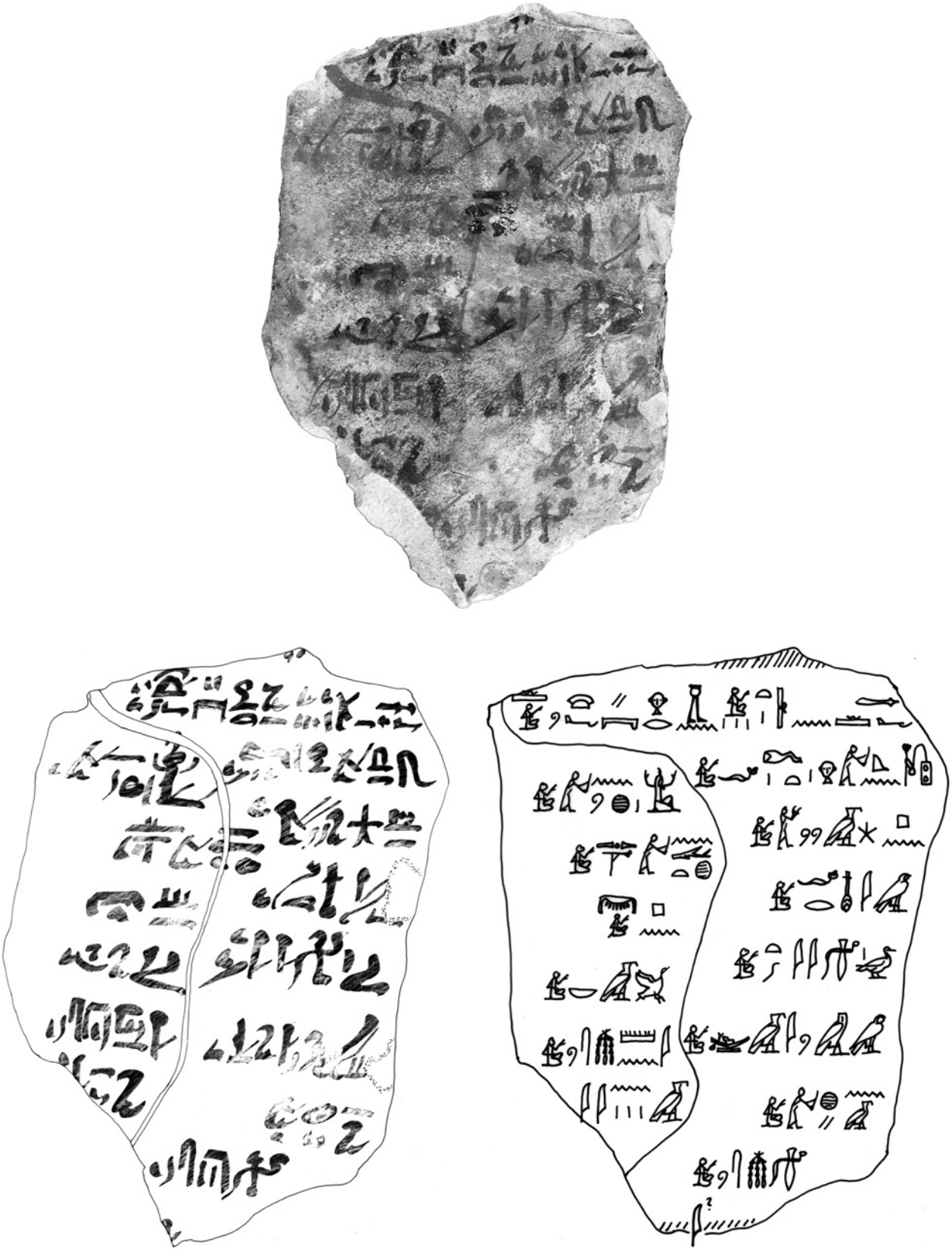

Plate 17. E.GA.6119.1943, front

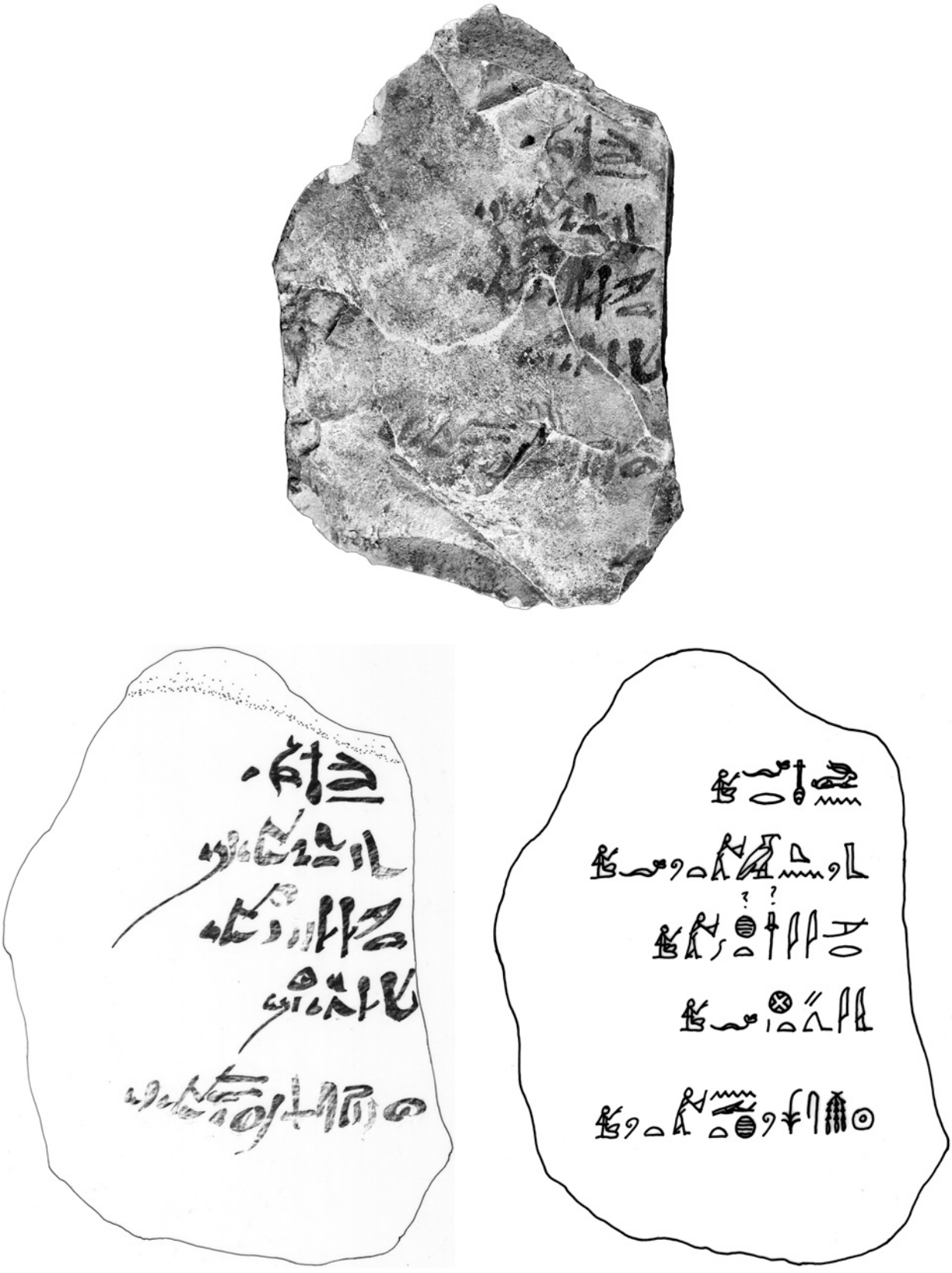

Plate 18. E.GA.6119.1943, back

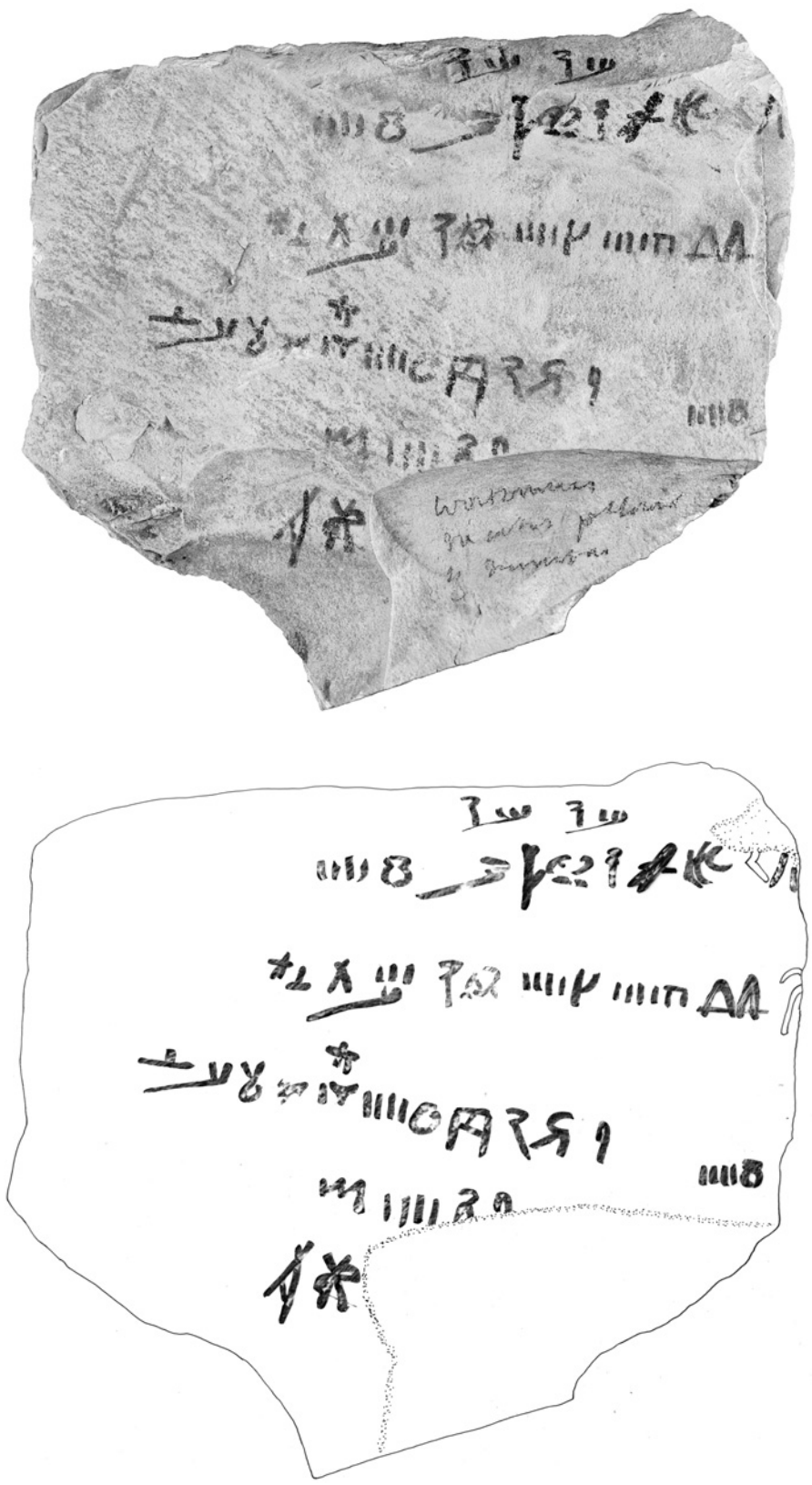

Plate 19. E.GA.6120.1943, back

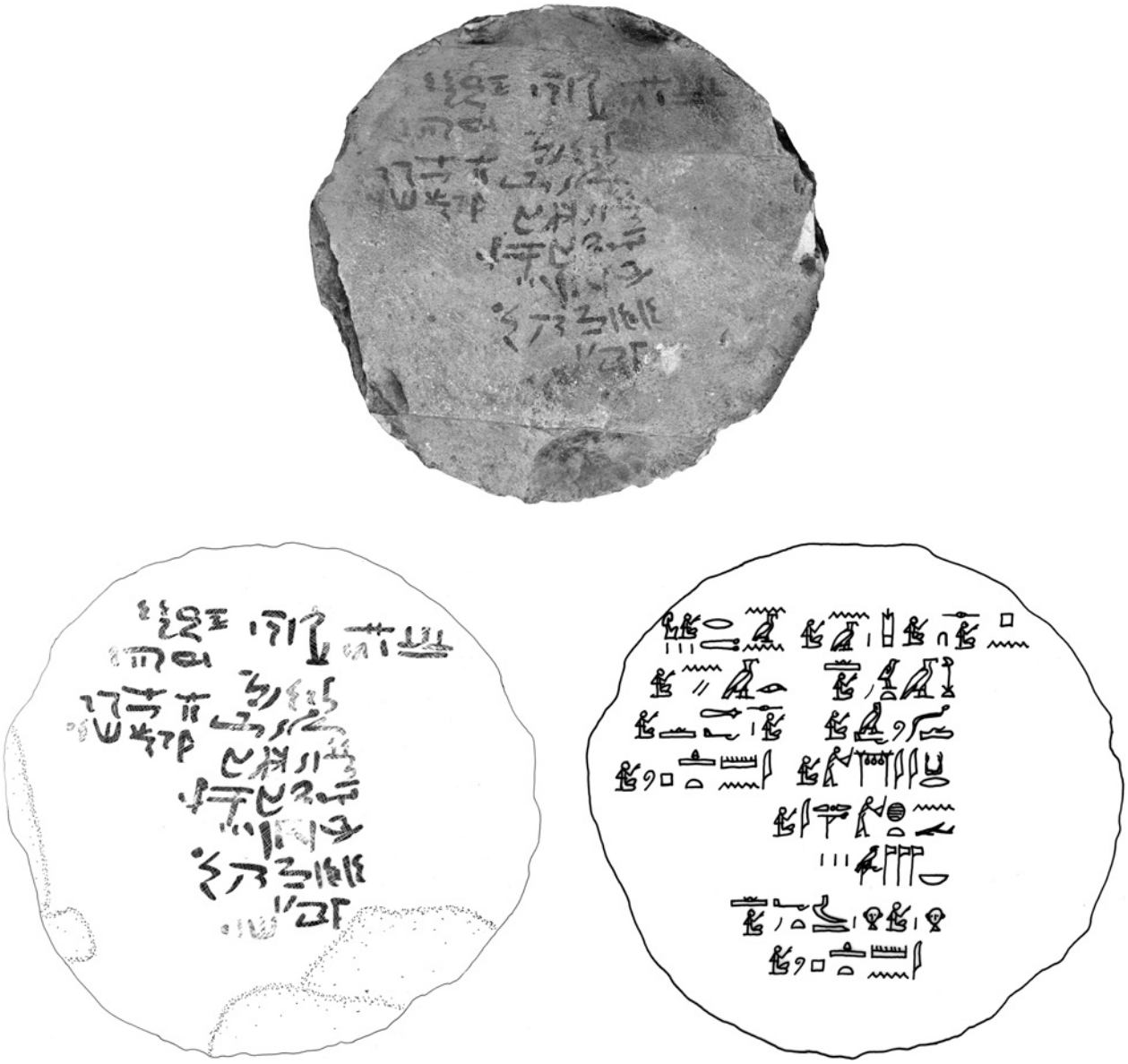

Plate 20. E.GA.6122.1943

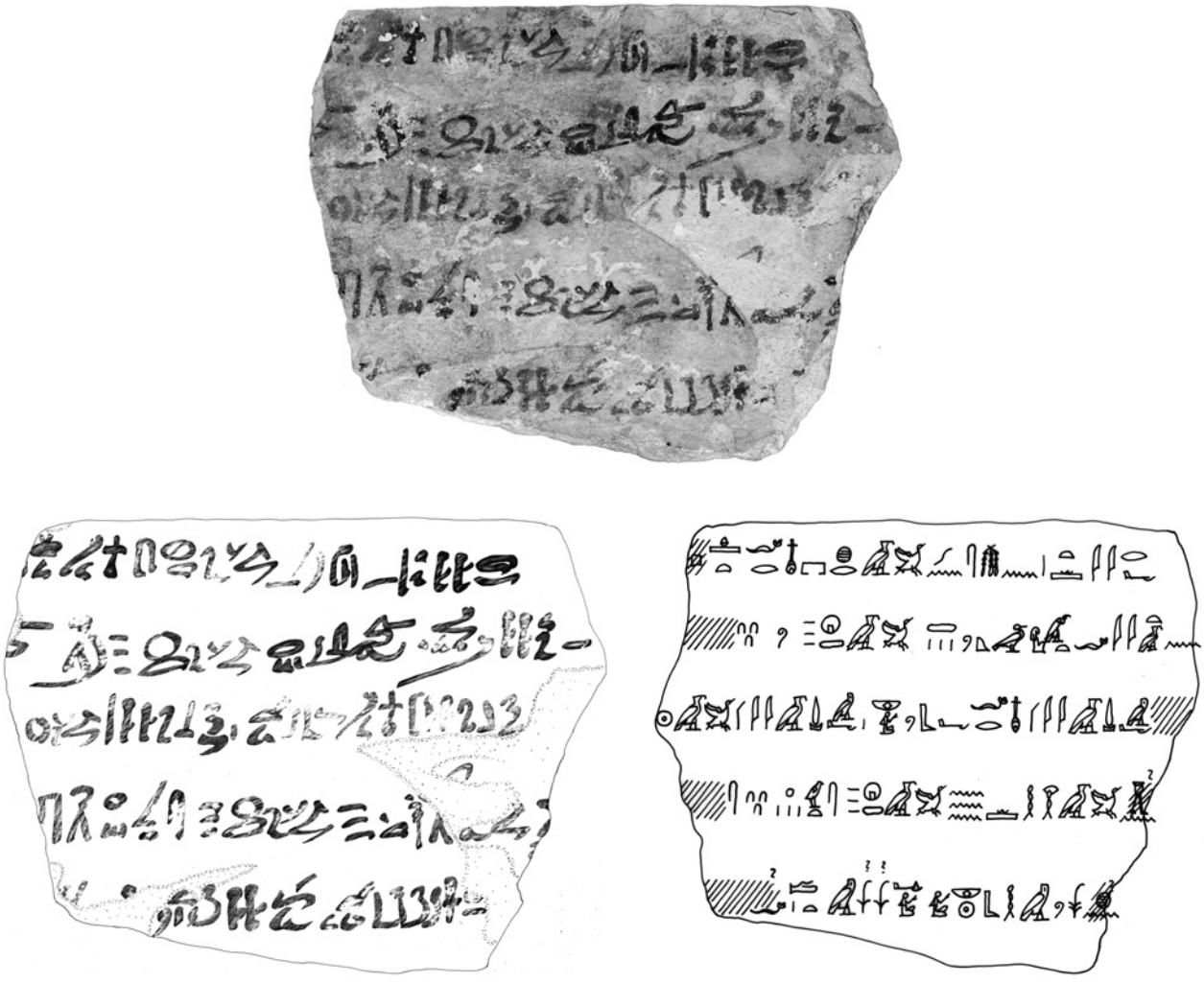

Plate 21. E.GA.6123.1943

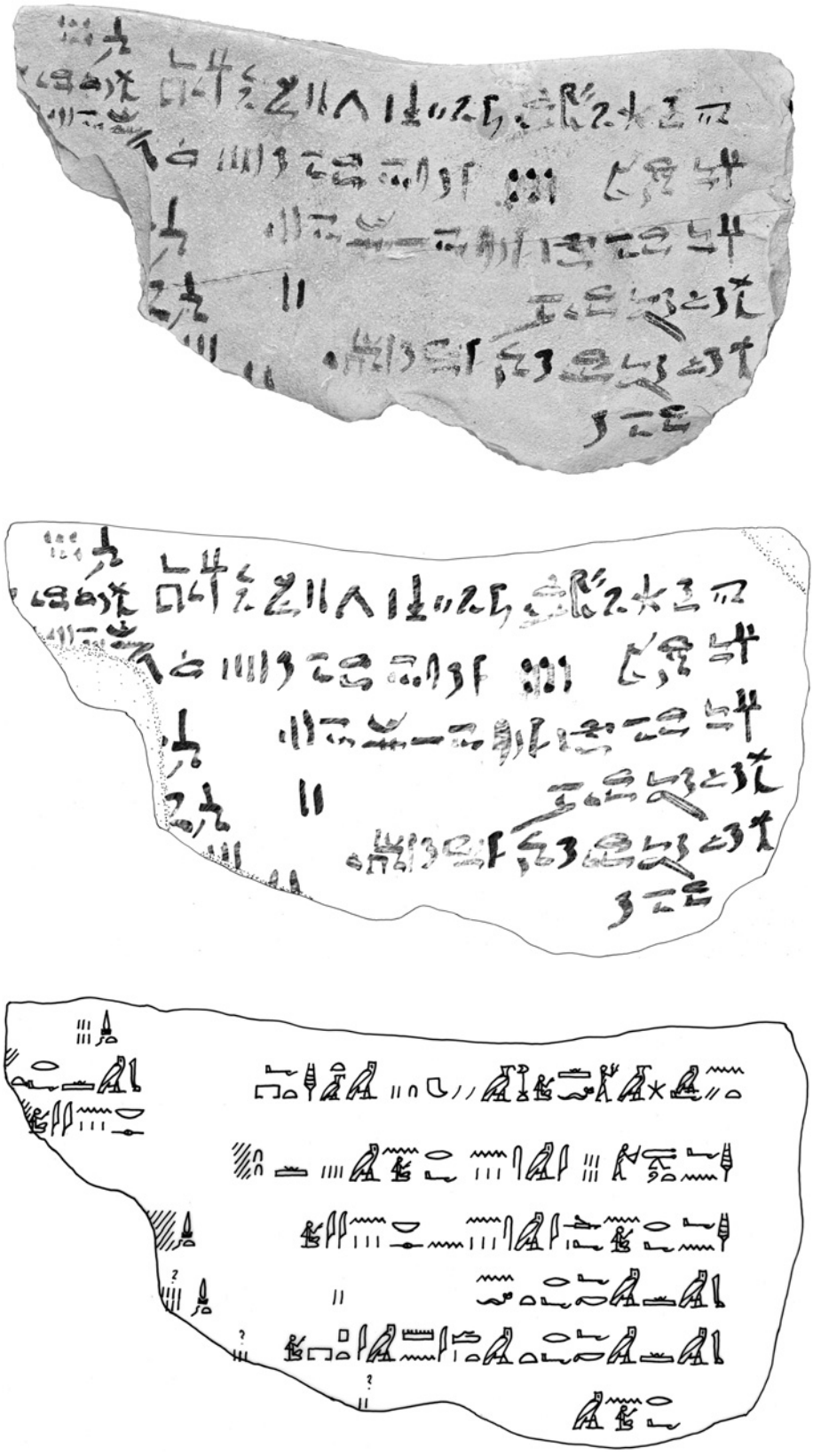

Plate 22. E.GA.6124.1943, front

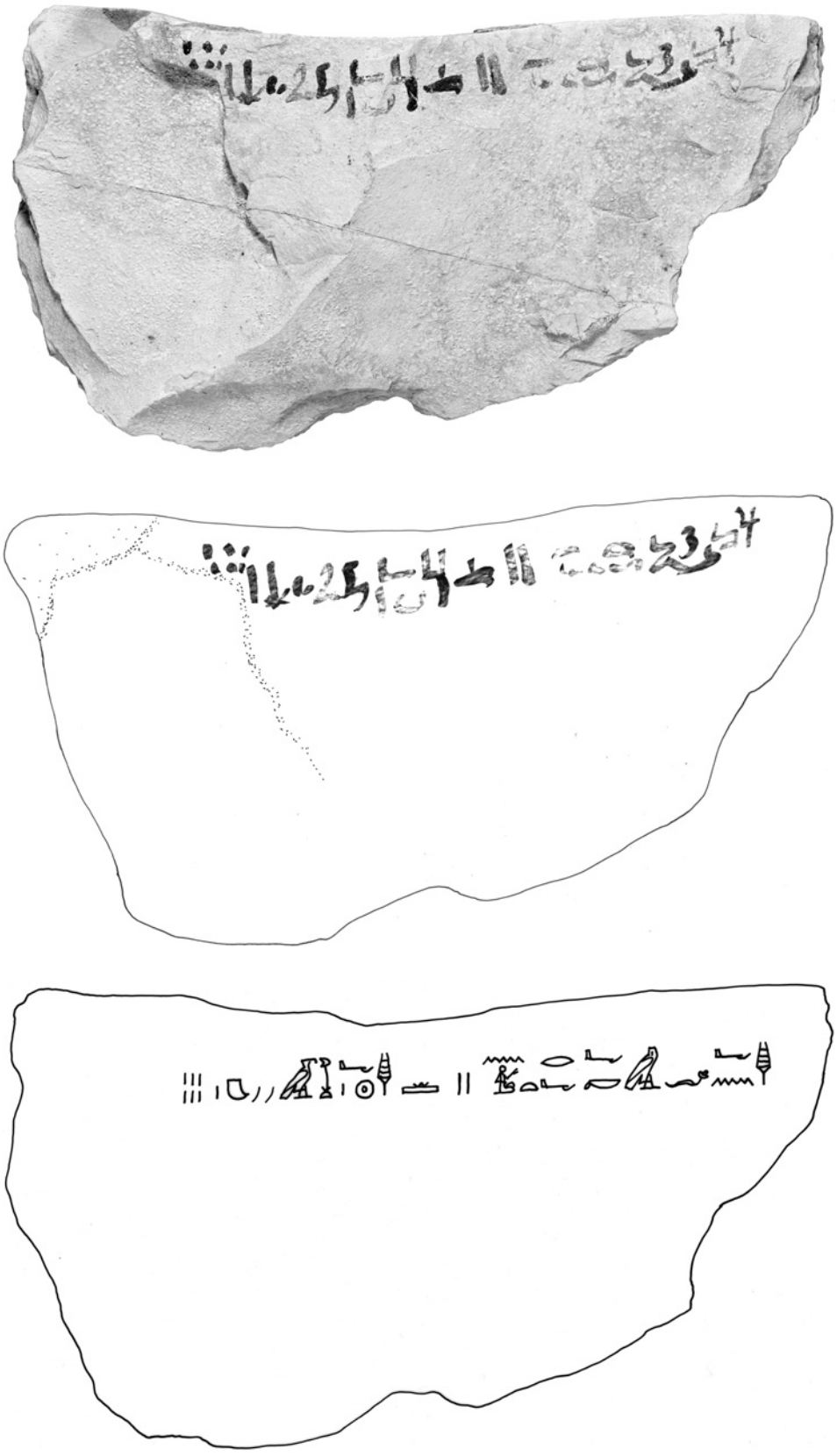

Plate 23. E.GA.6124.1943, back

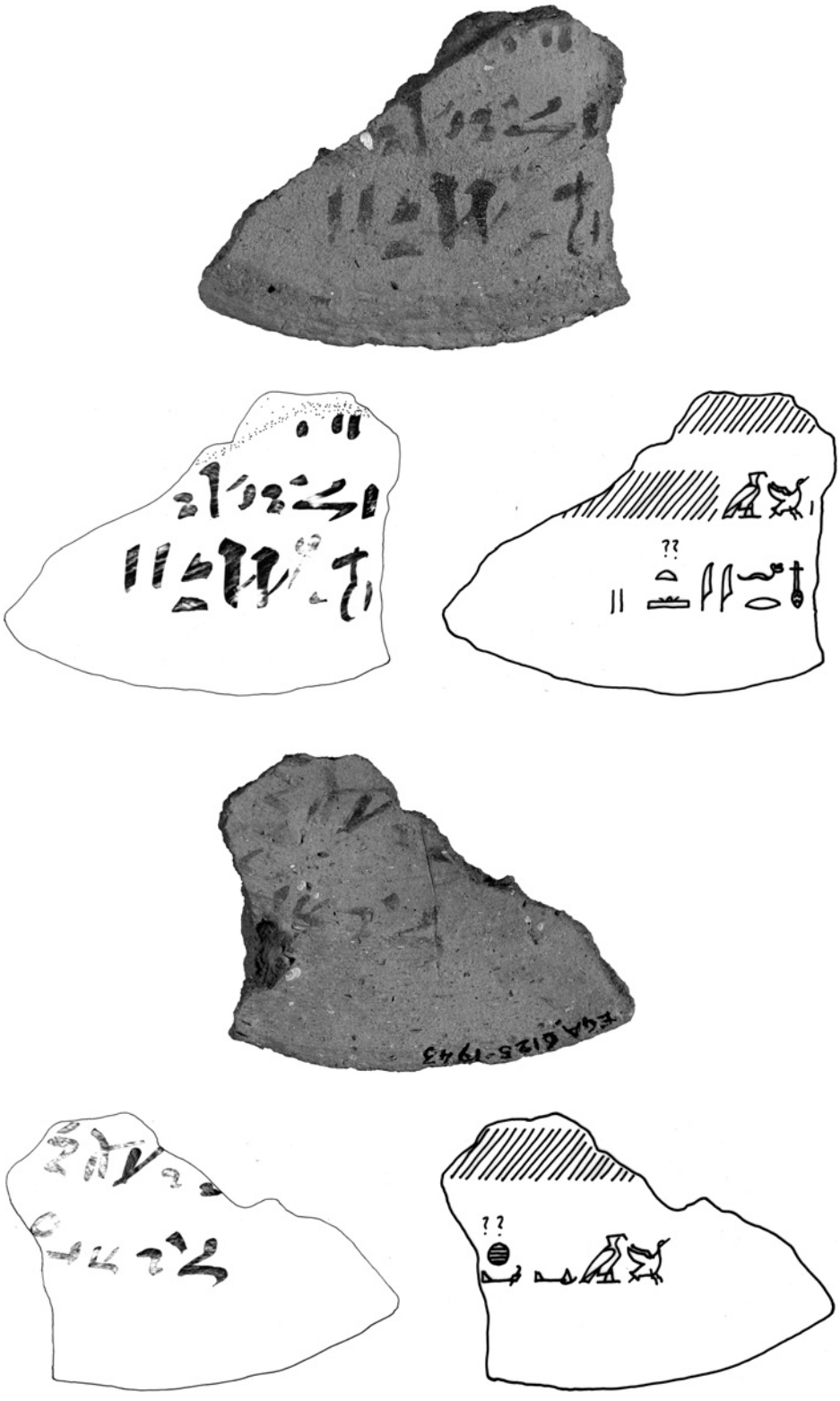

Plate 24. E.GA.6125.1943, front (top) and back (bottom)

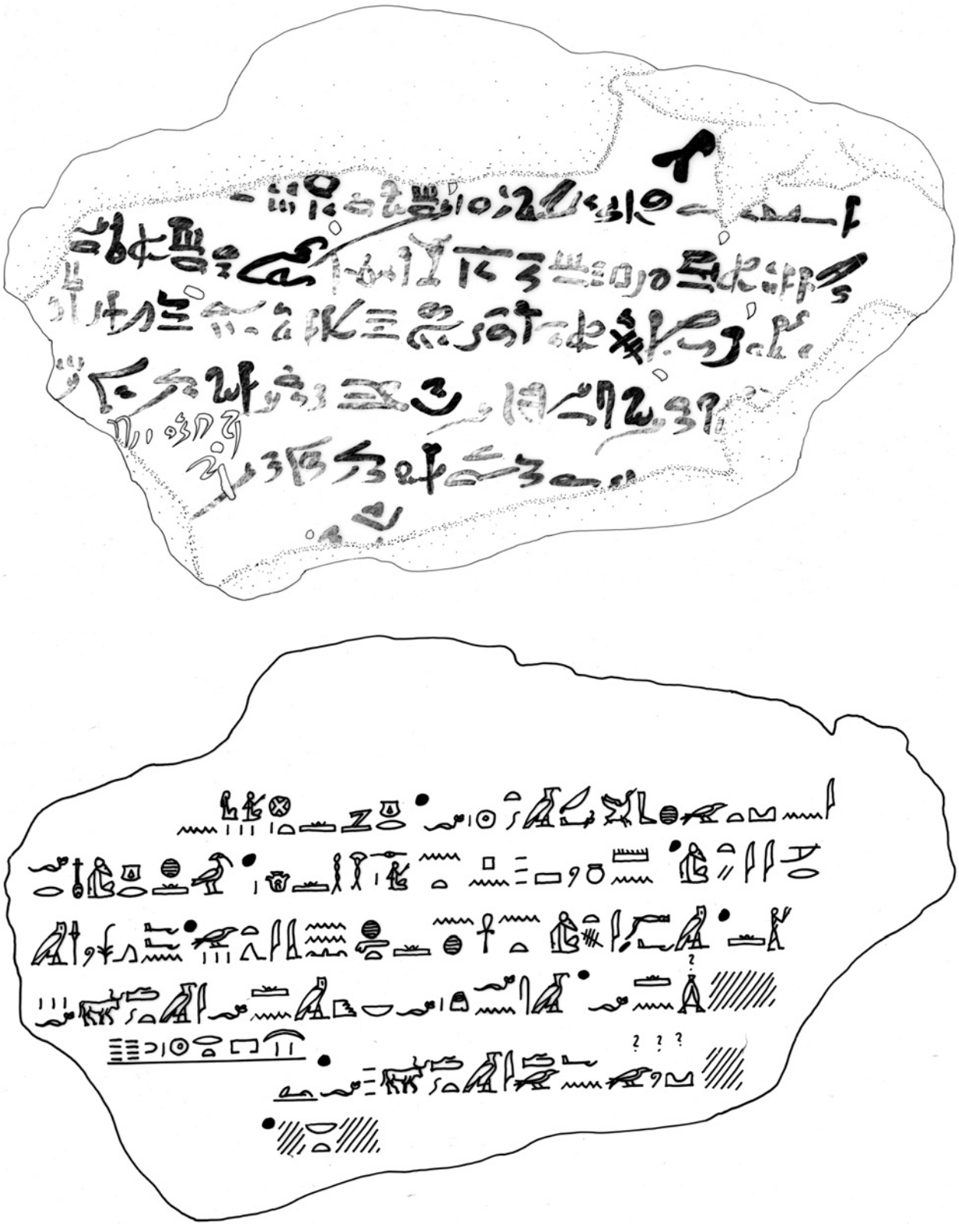

Plate 25. E.GA.6128.1943, front (photograph on plate 60)

Plate 26. E.GA.6128.1943, back

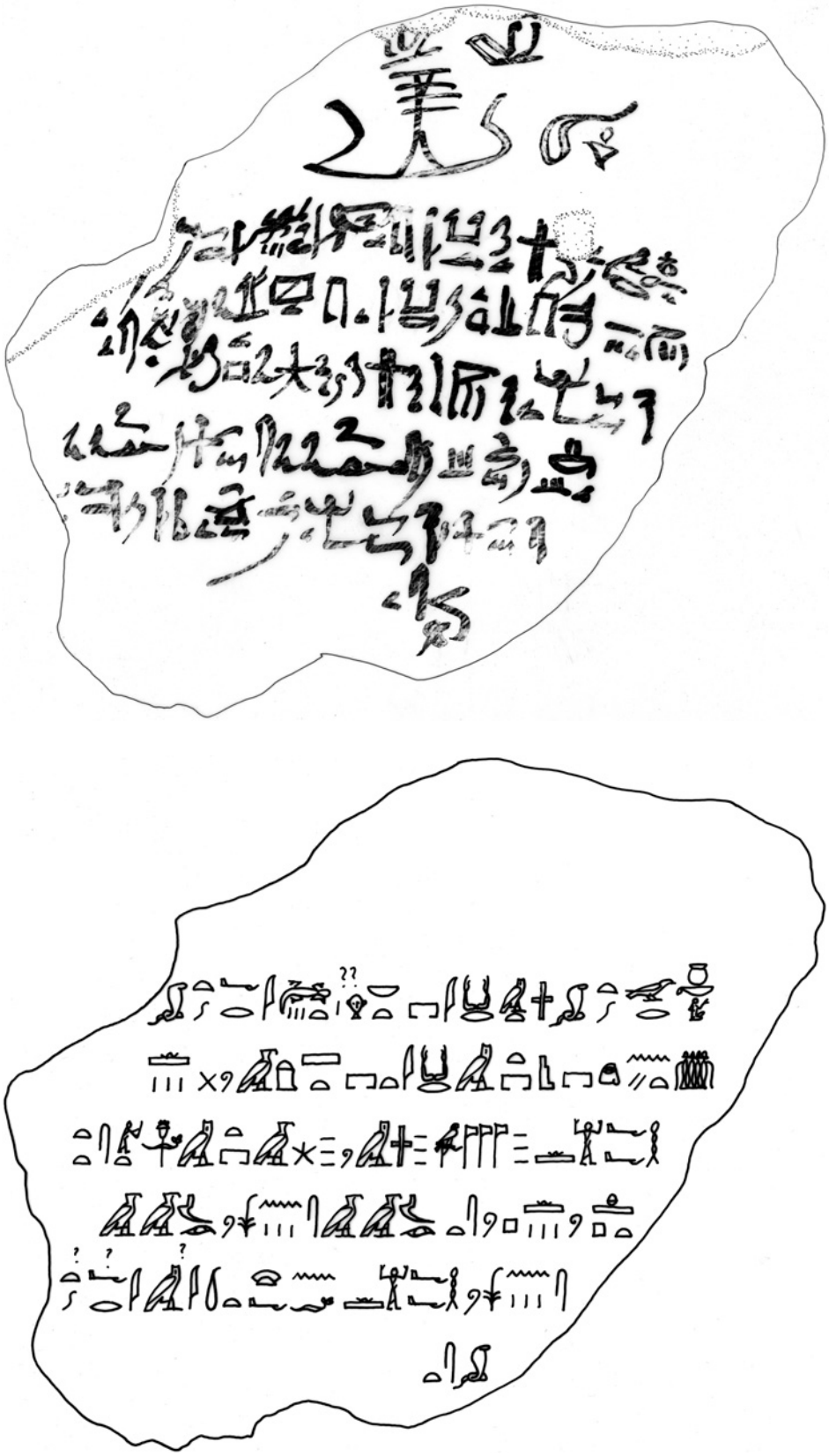

Plate 27. E.GA.6128.1943, back

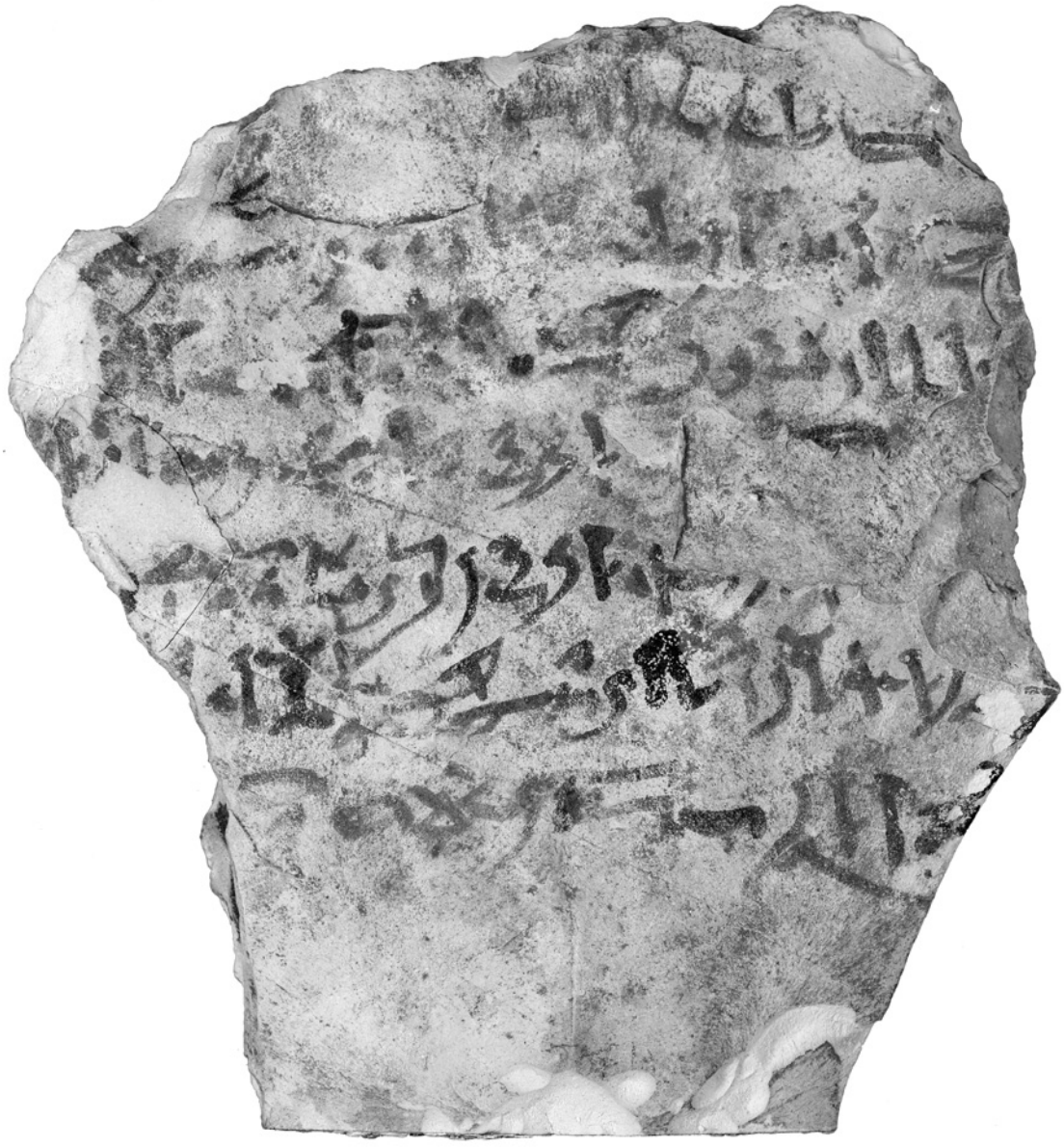

Plate 28. E.GA.6129.1943, front

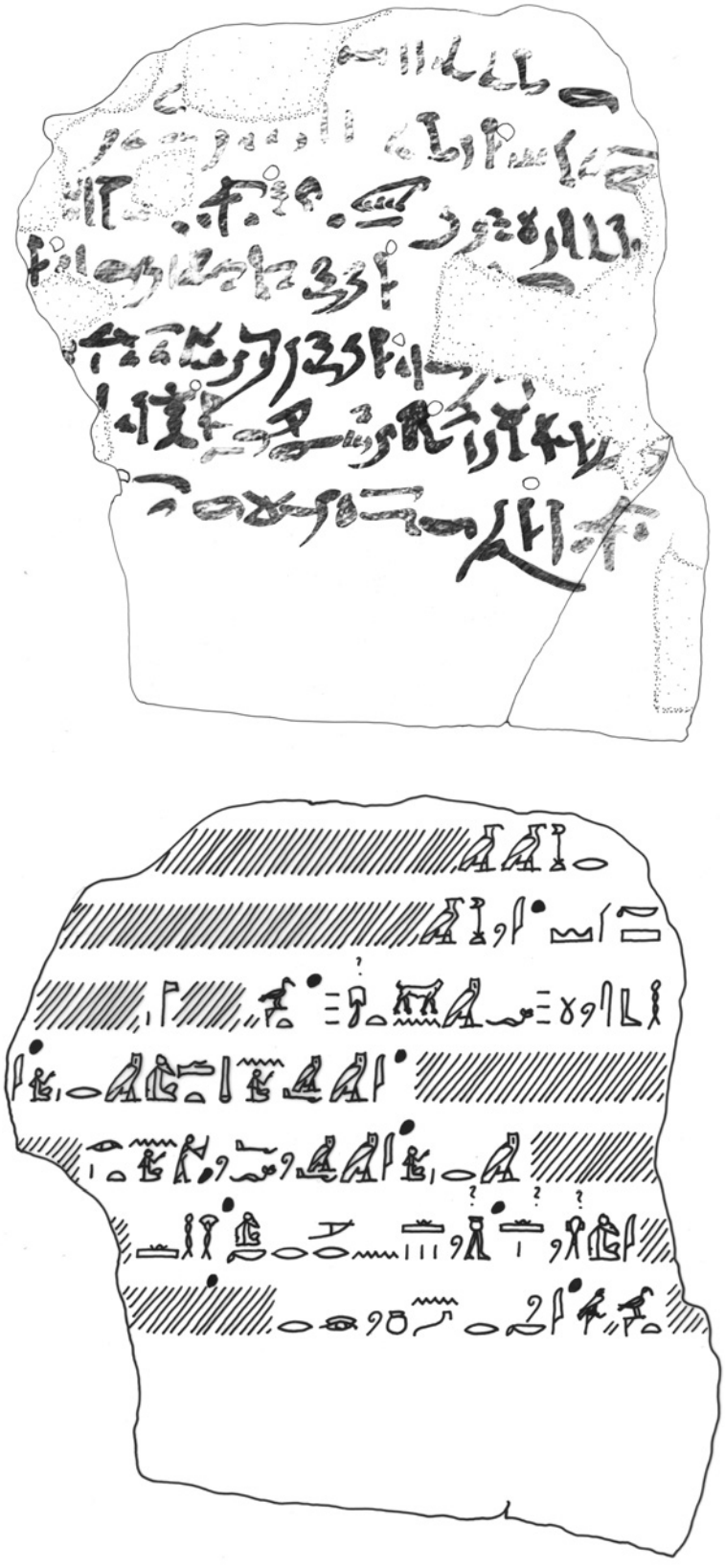

Plate 29. E.GA.6129.1943, front

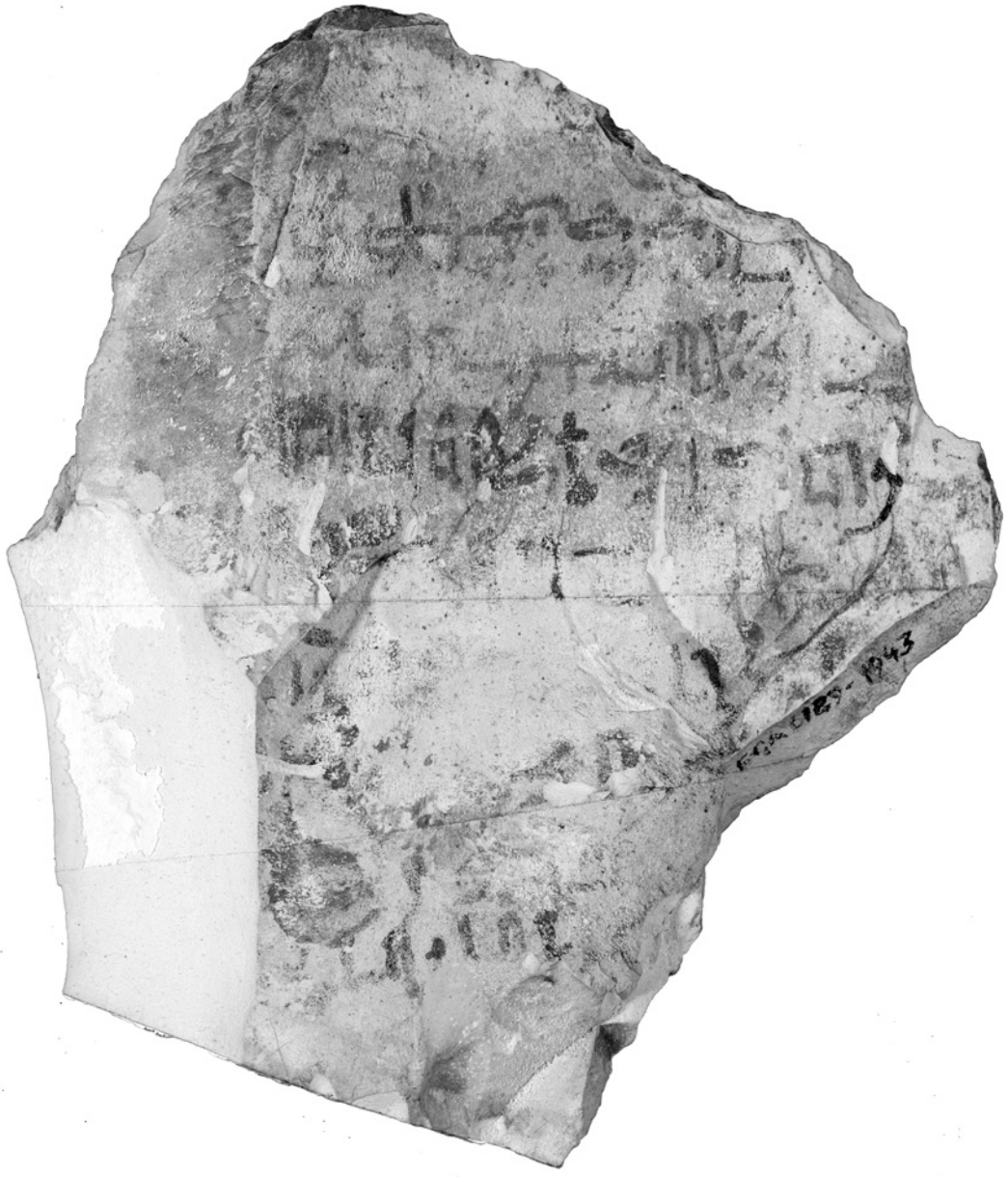

Plate 30. E.GA.6129.1943, back

Plate 31. E.GA.6129.1943, back

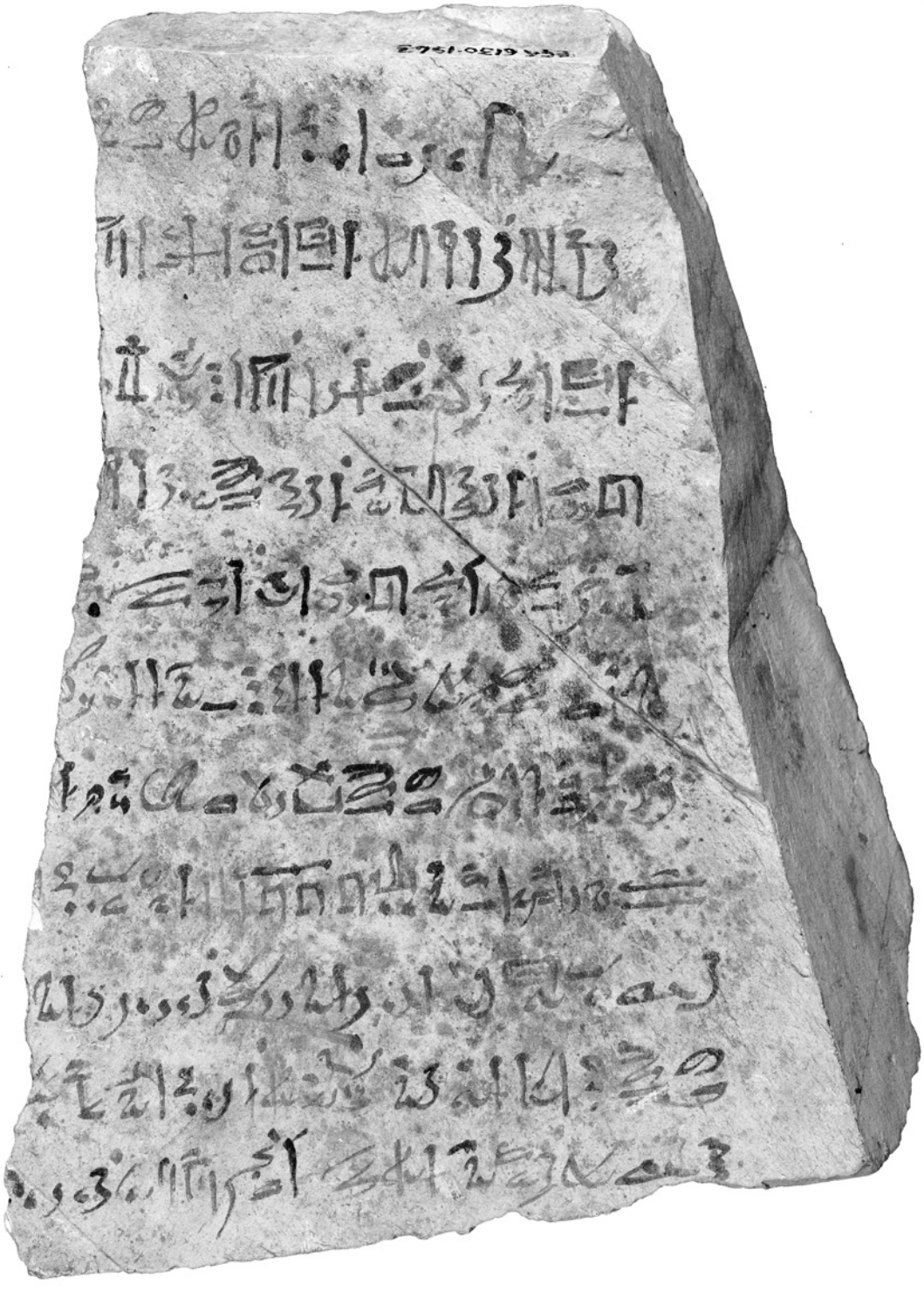

Plate 32. E.GA.6130.1943, front

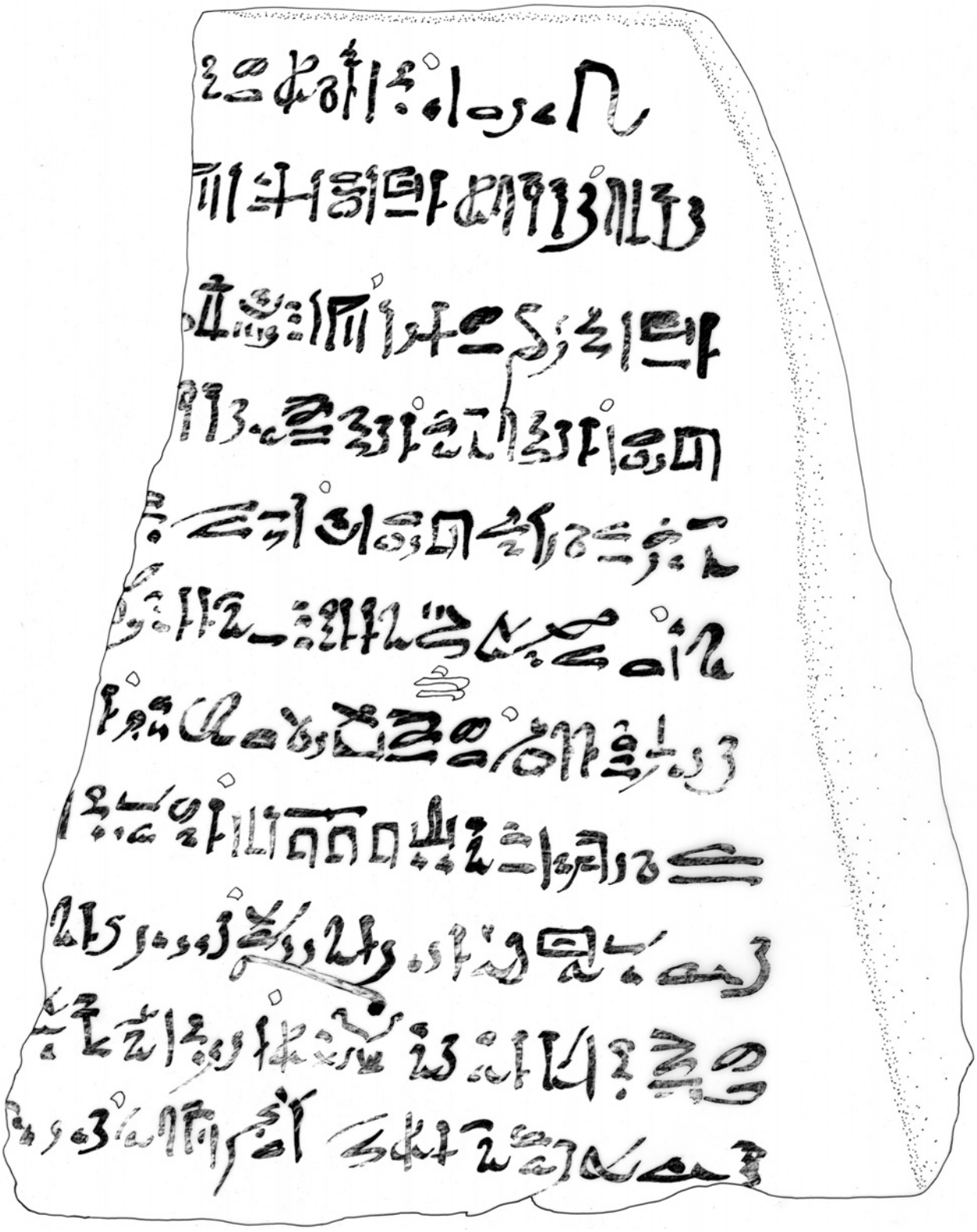

Plate 33. E.GA.6130.1943, front

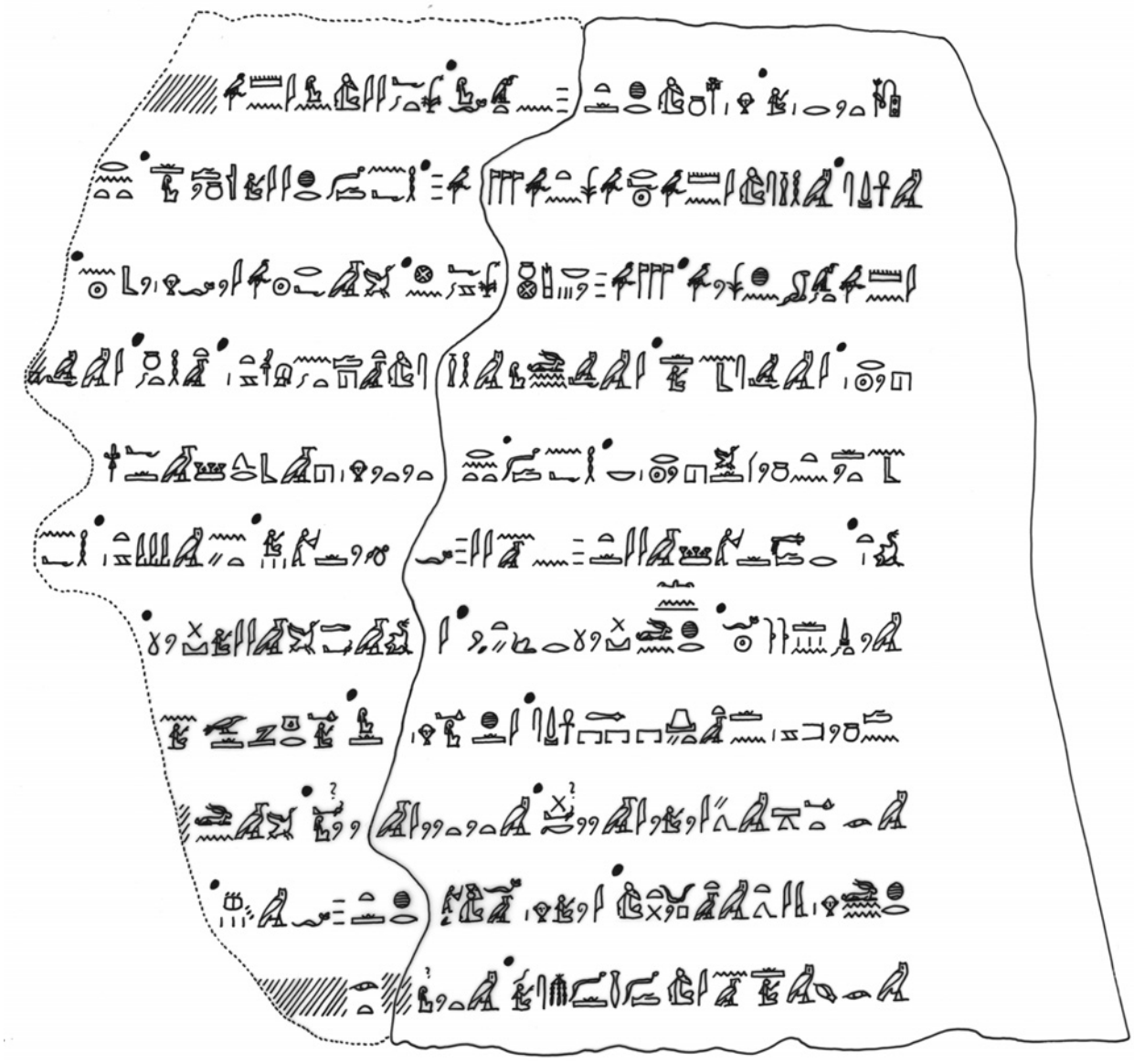

Plate 34. E.GA.6130.1943 (+ O. DeM 1722), front

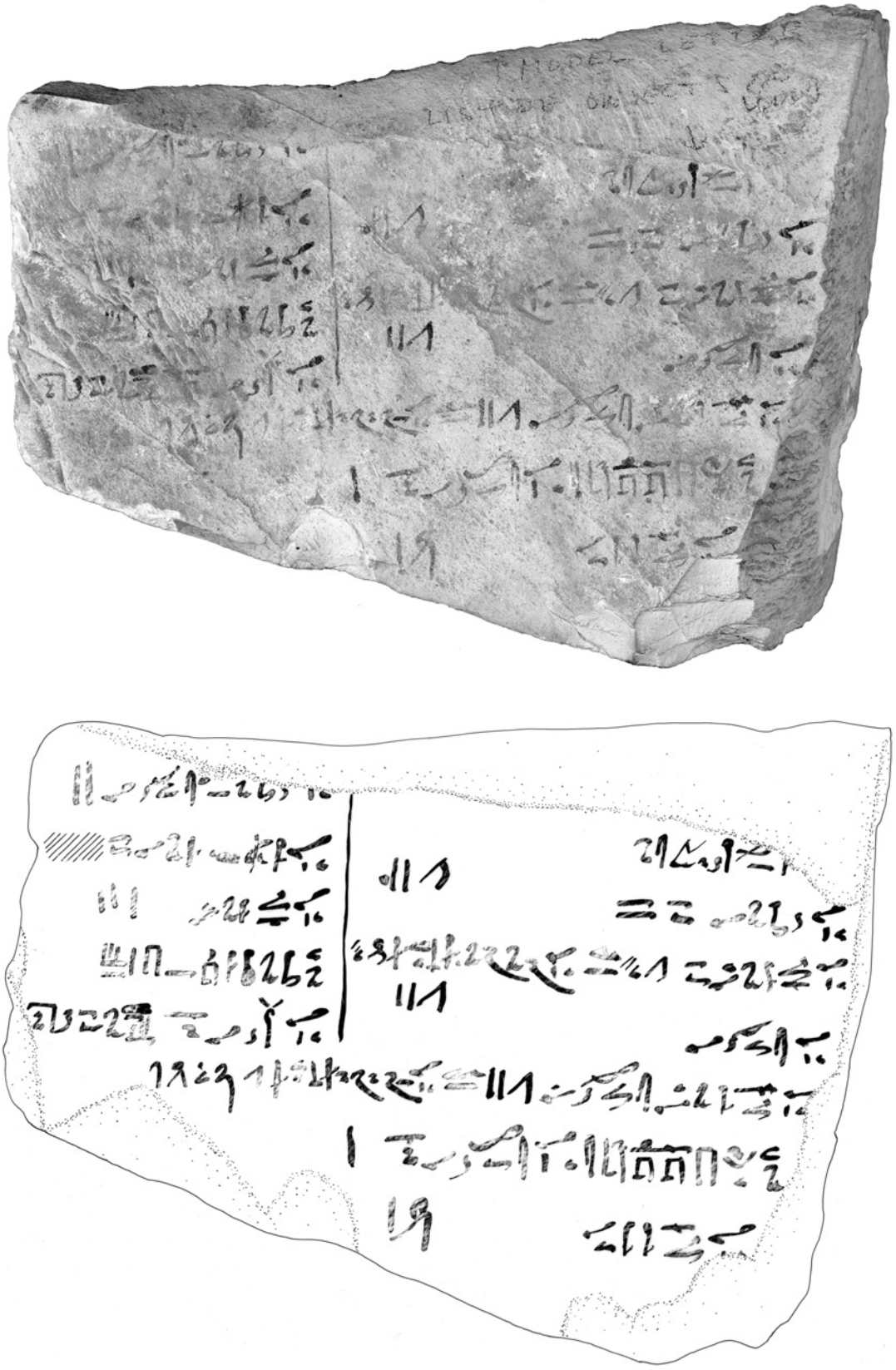

Plate 35. E.GA.6130.1943, back

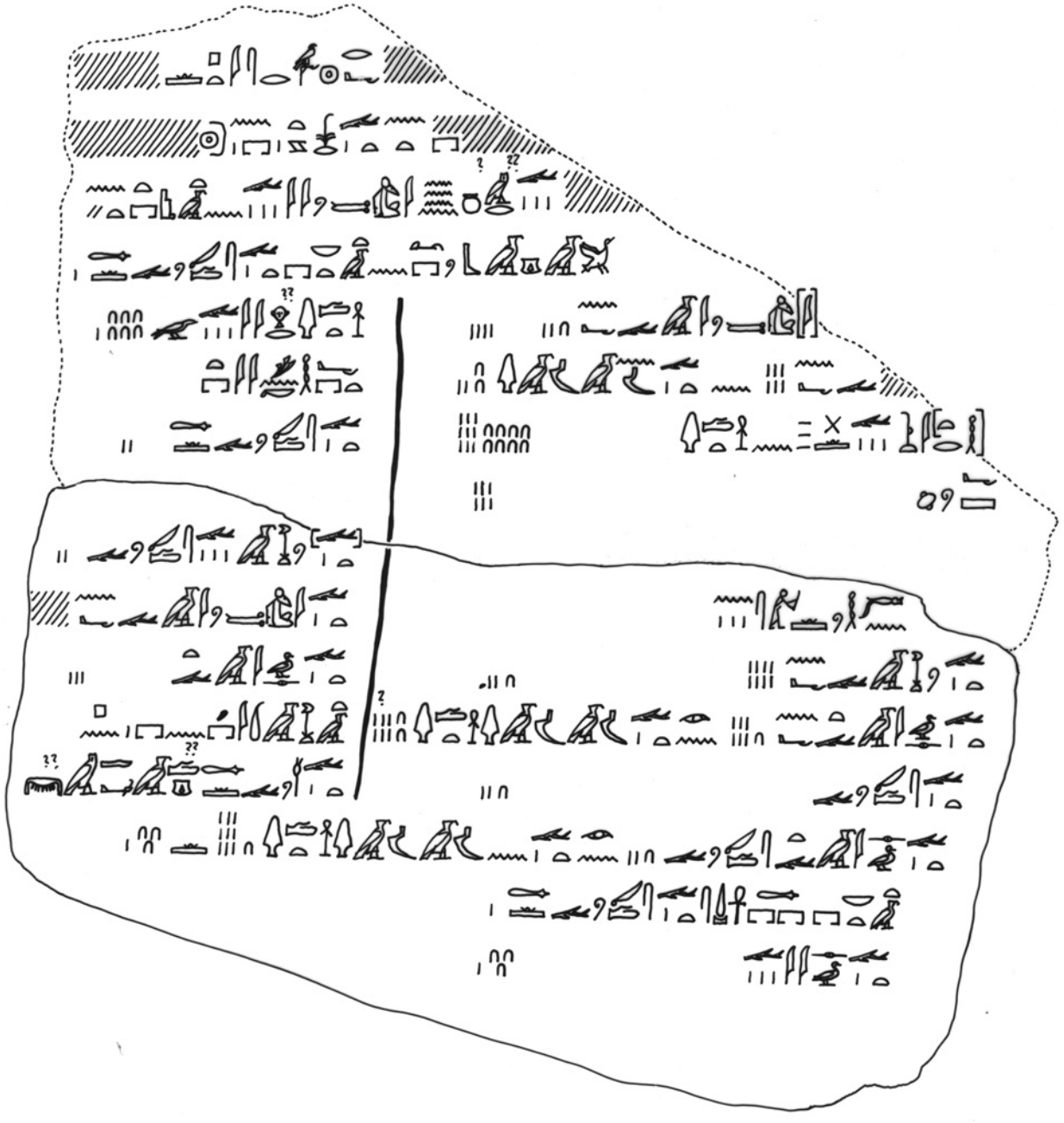

Plate 36. E.GA.6130.1943 (+ O. DeM 1722), back

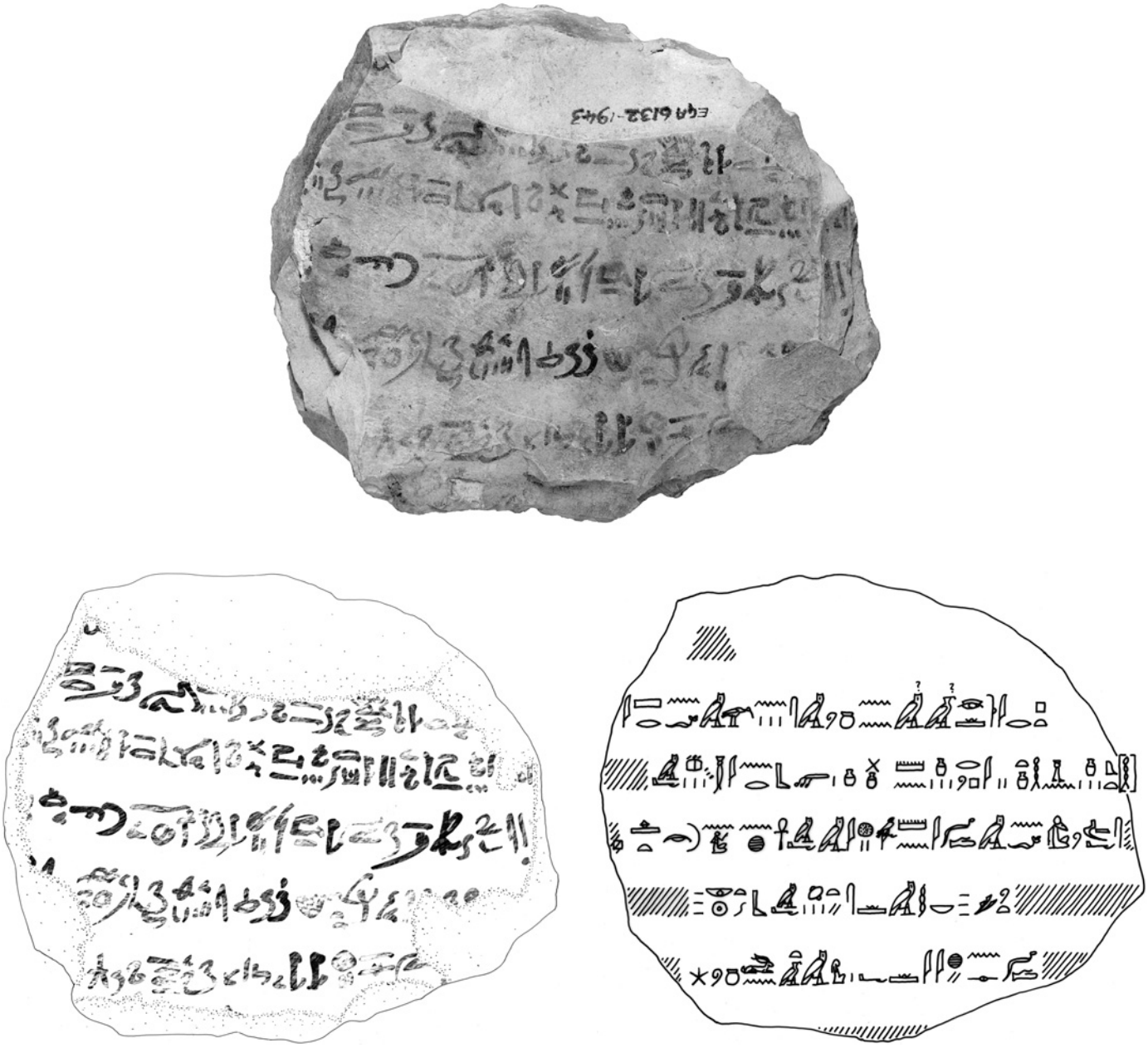

Plate 37. E.GA.6132.1943

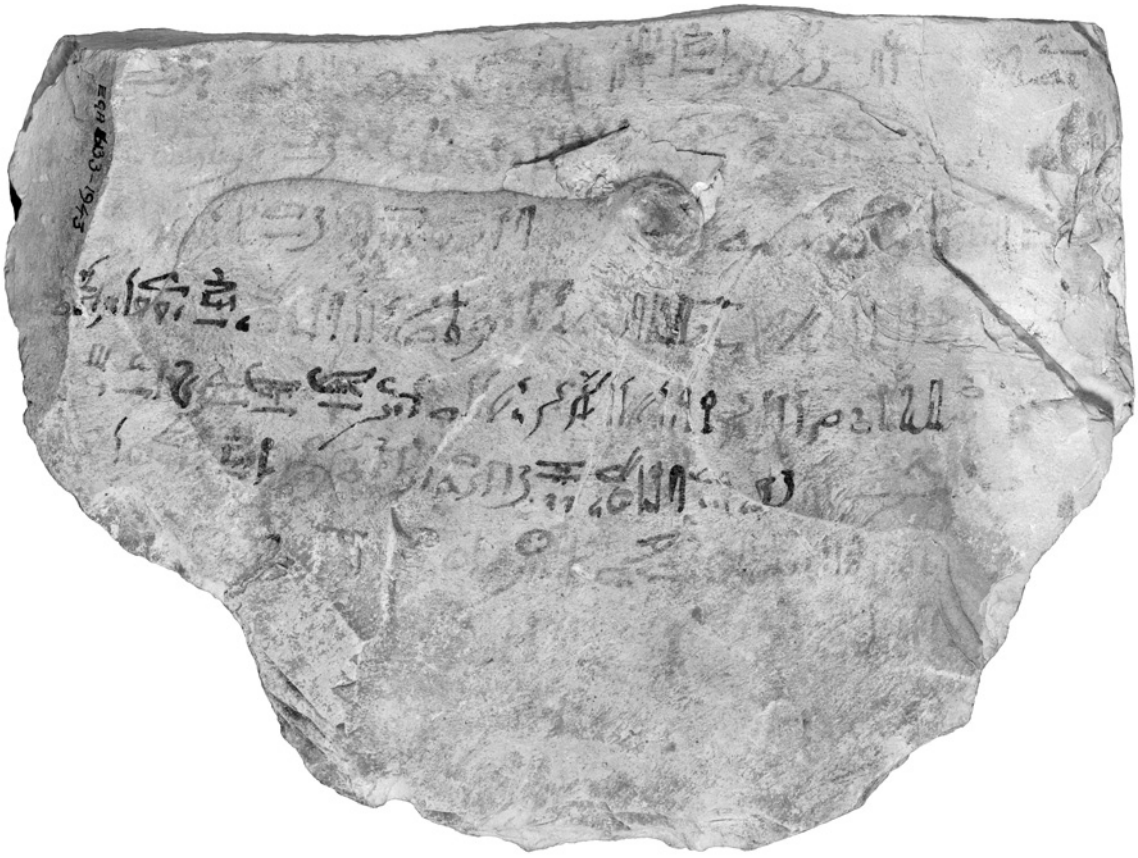

Plate 38. E.GA.6133.1943

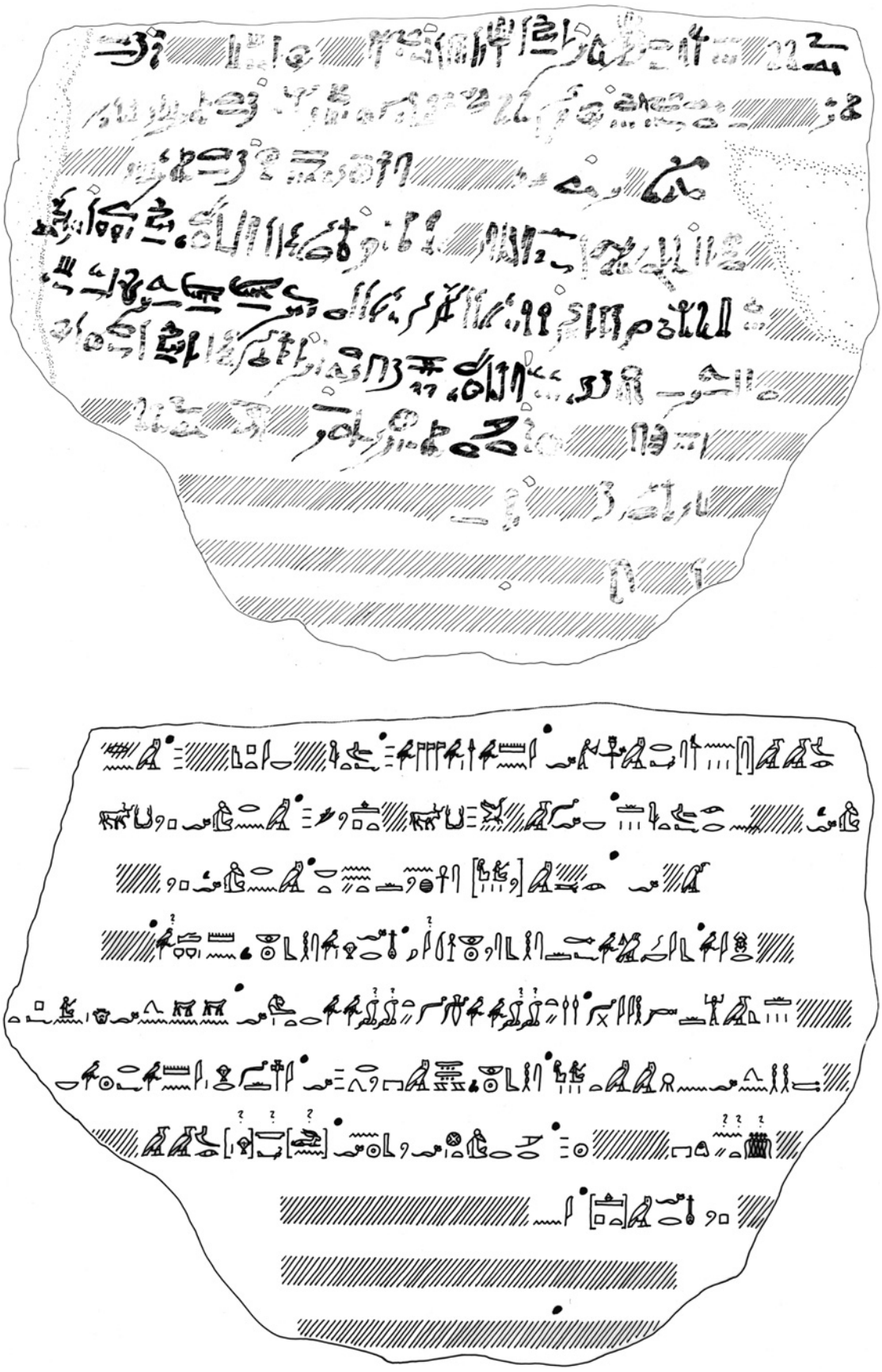

Plate 39. E.GA.6133.1943

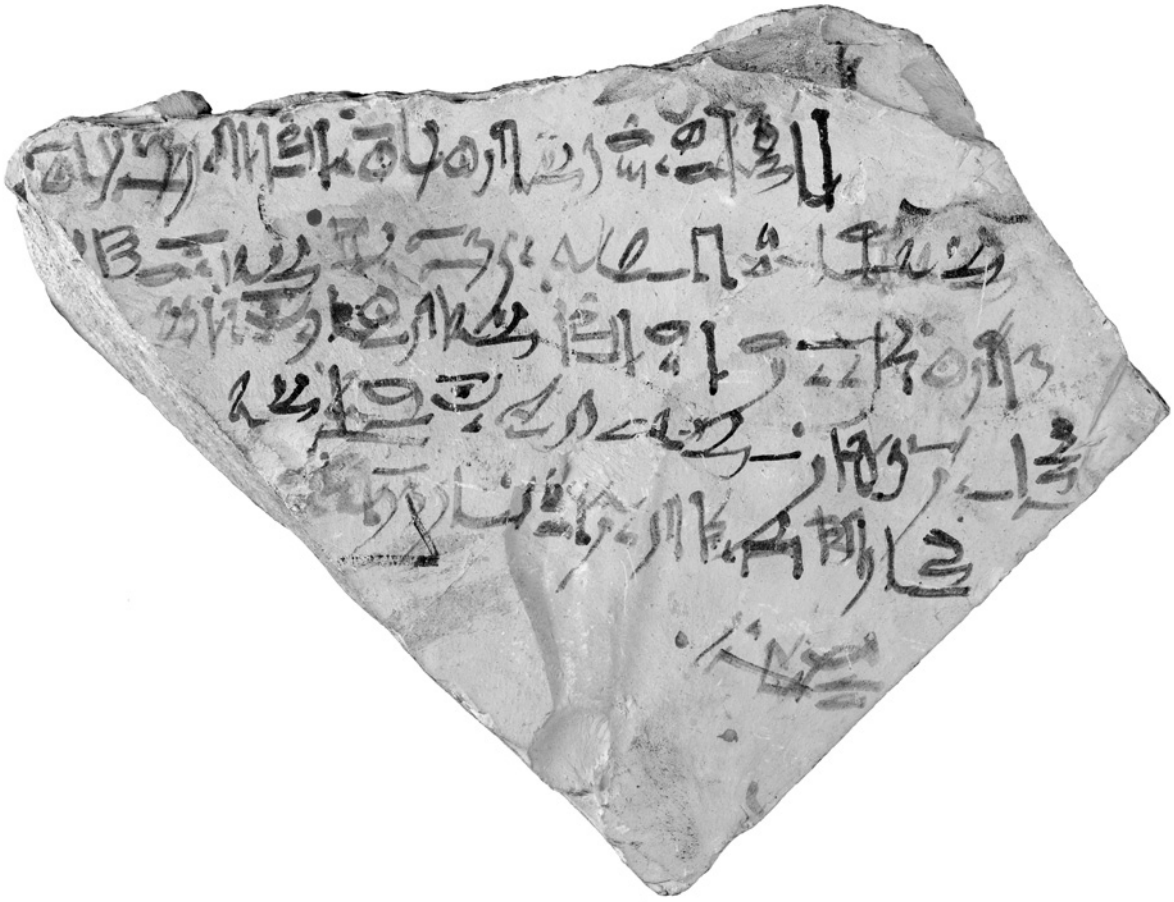

Plate 40. E.GA.6134.1943, front

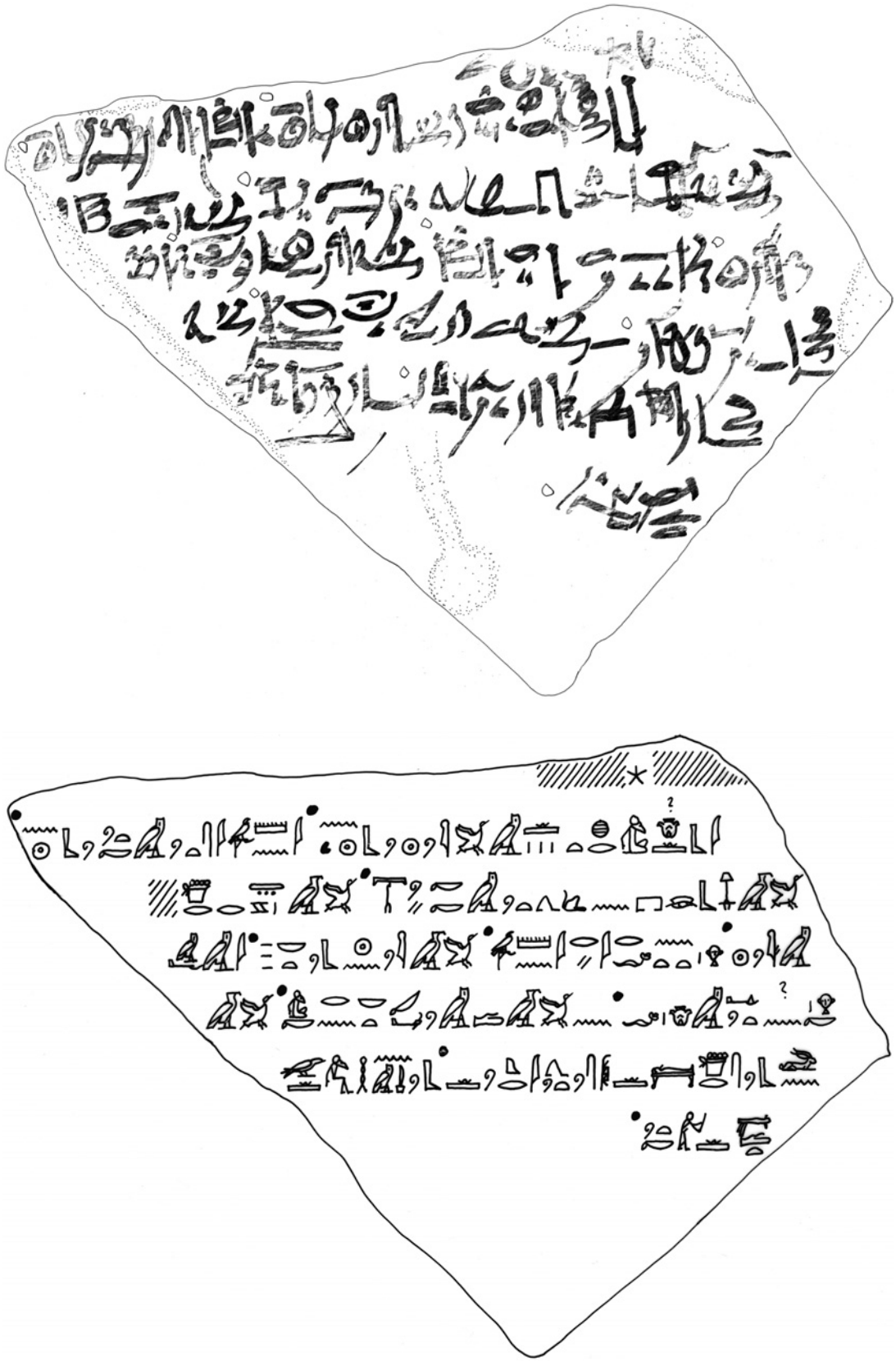

Plate 41. E.GA.6134.1943, front

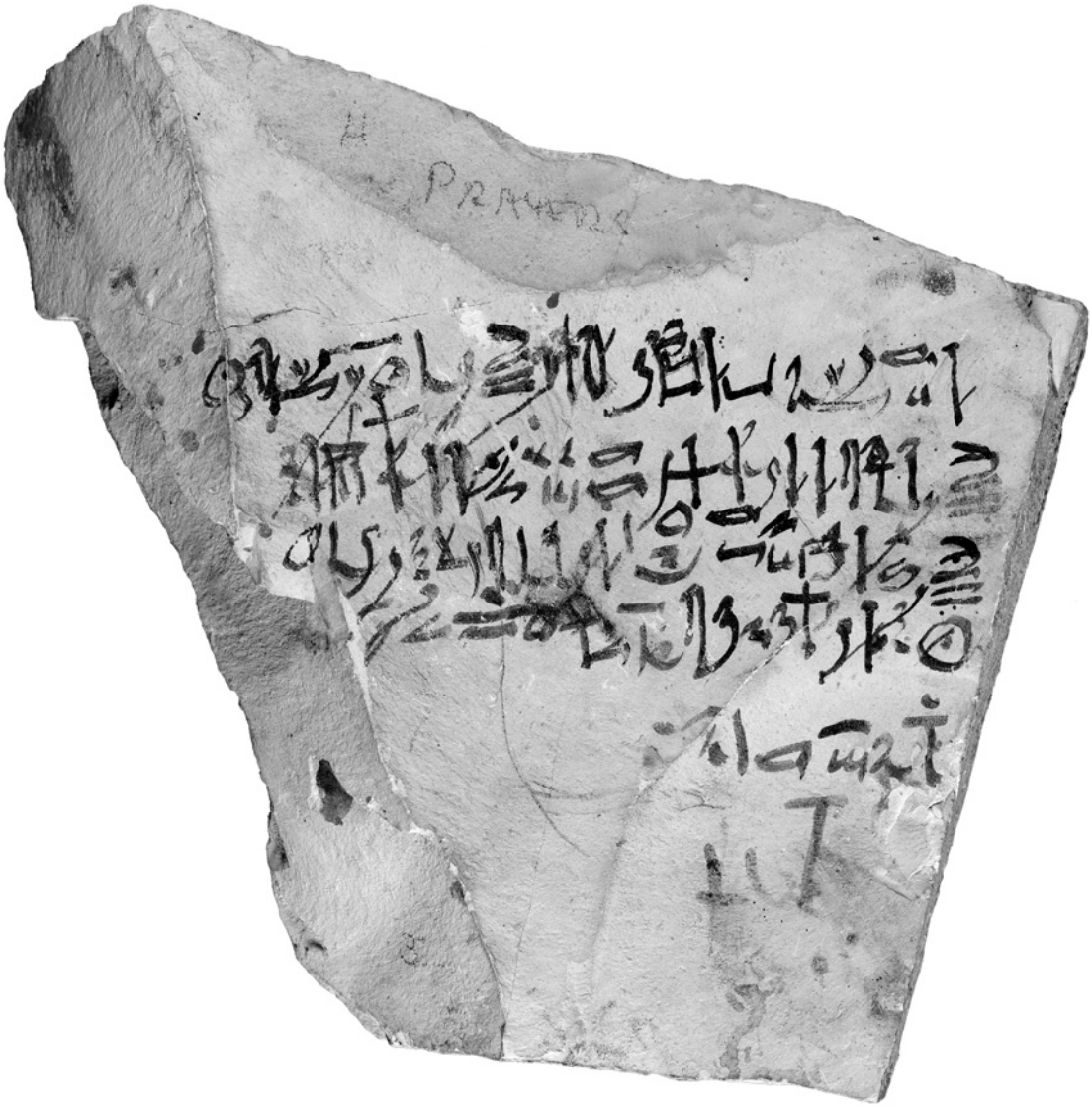

Plate 42. E.GA.6134.1943, back

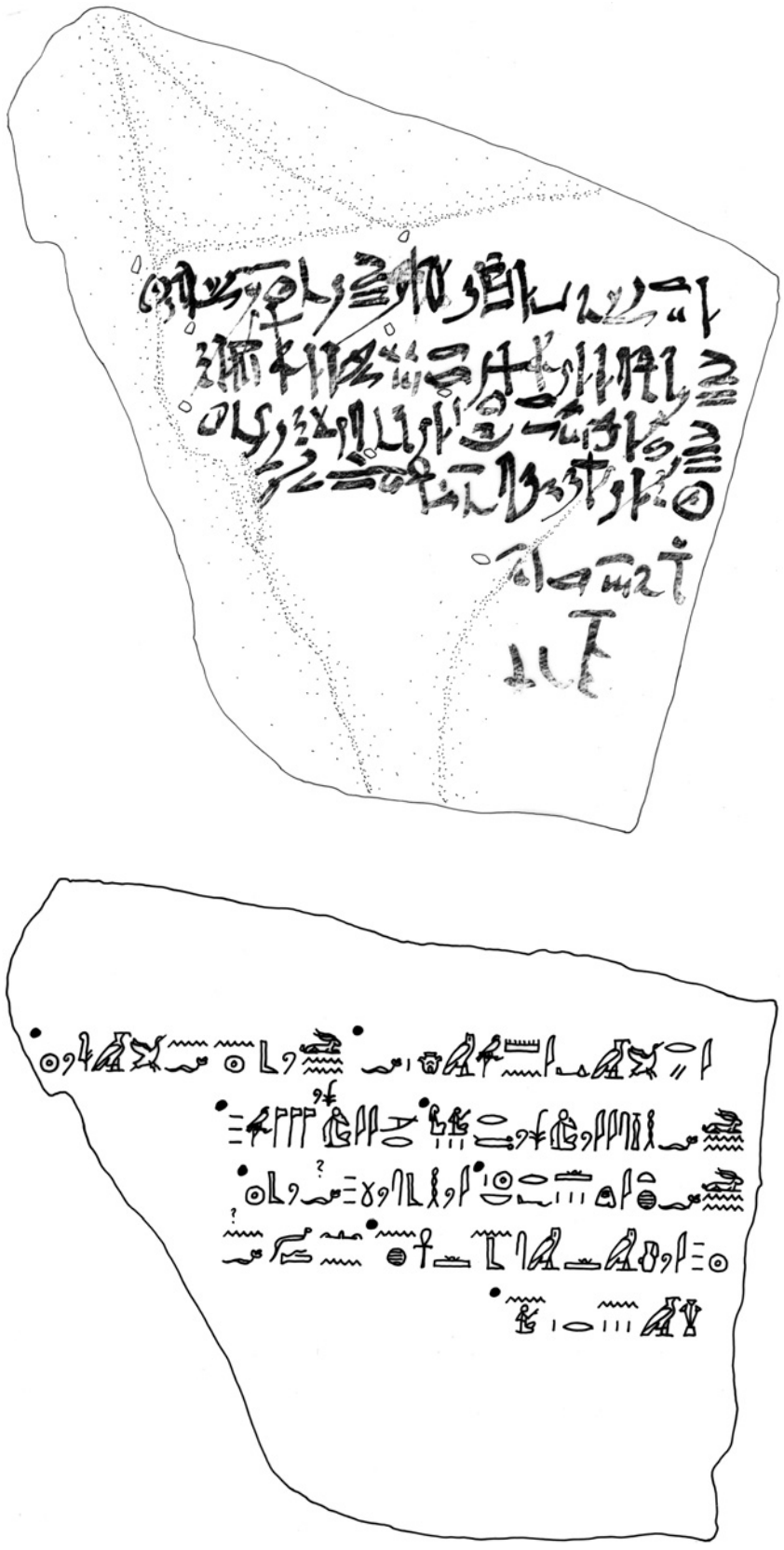

Plate 43. E.GA.6134.1943, back

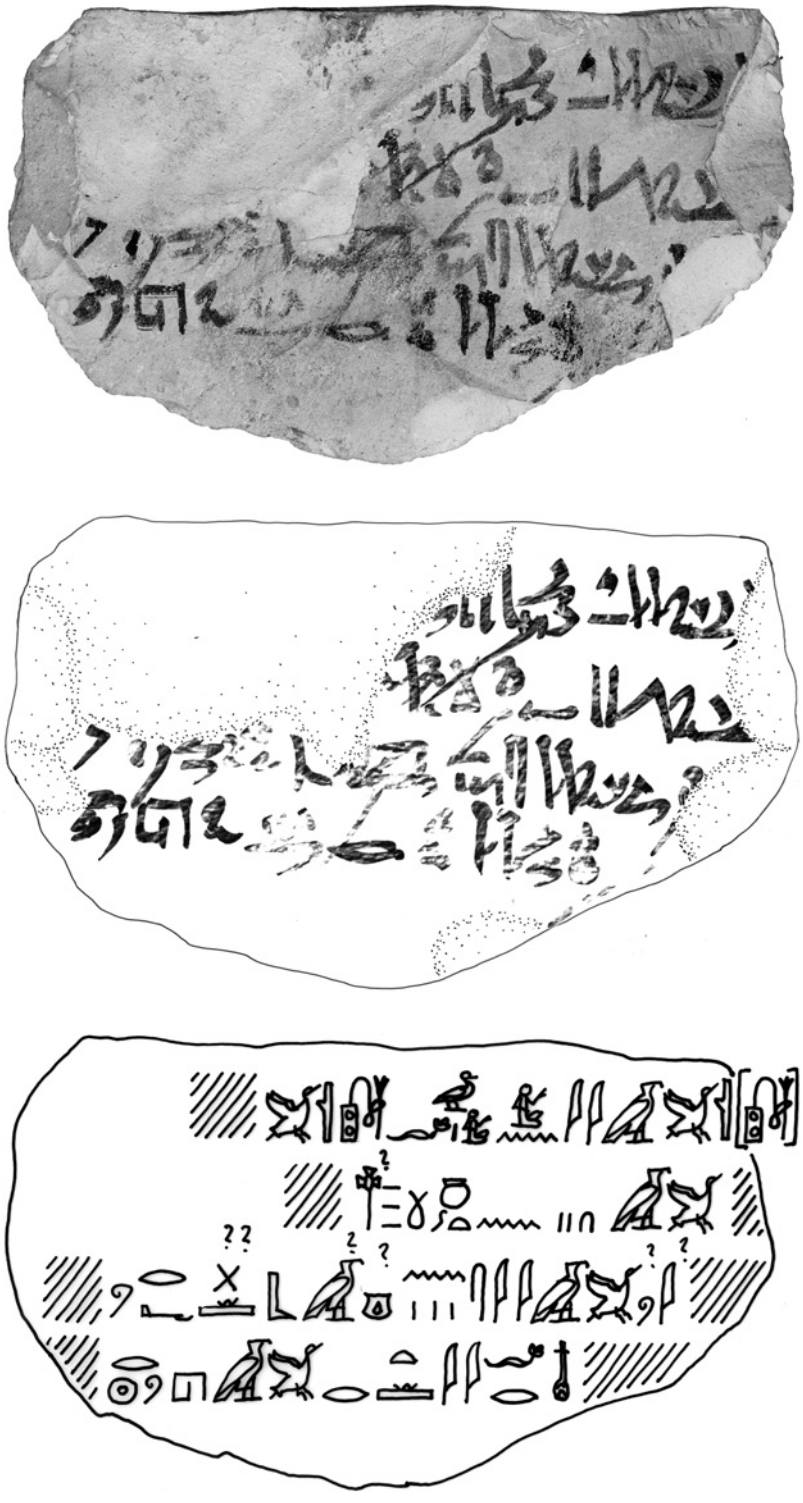

Plate 44. E.GA.6135.1943, front

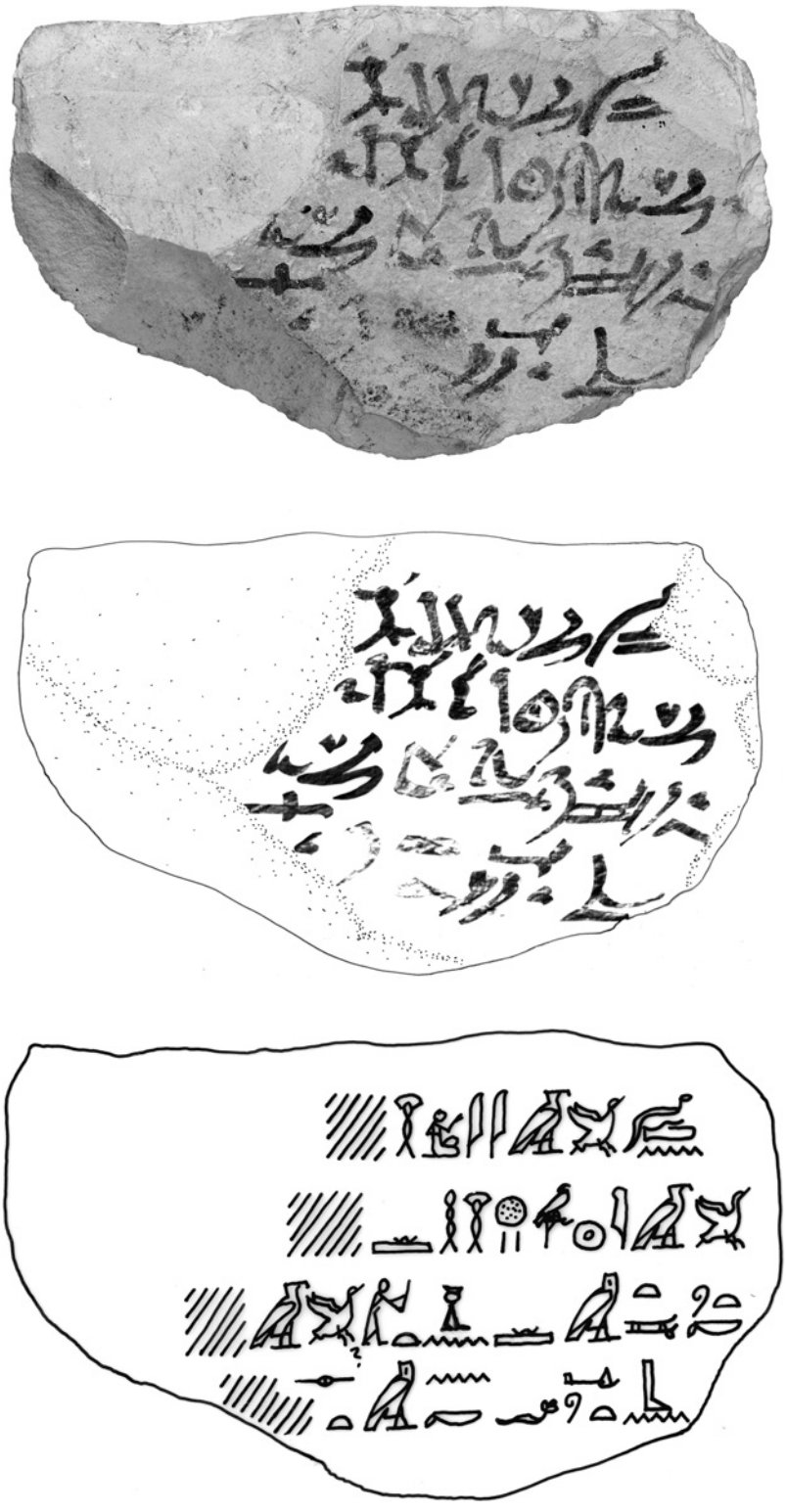

Plate 45. E.GA.6135.1943, back

Plate 46. E.GA.6136.1943

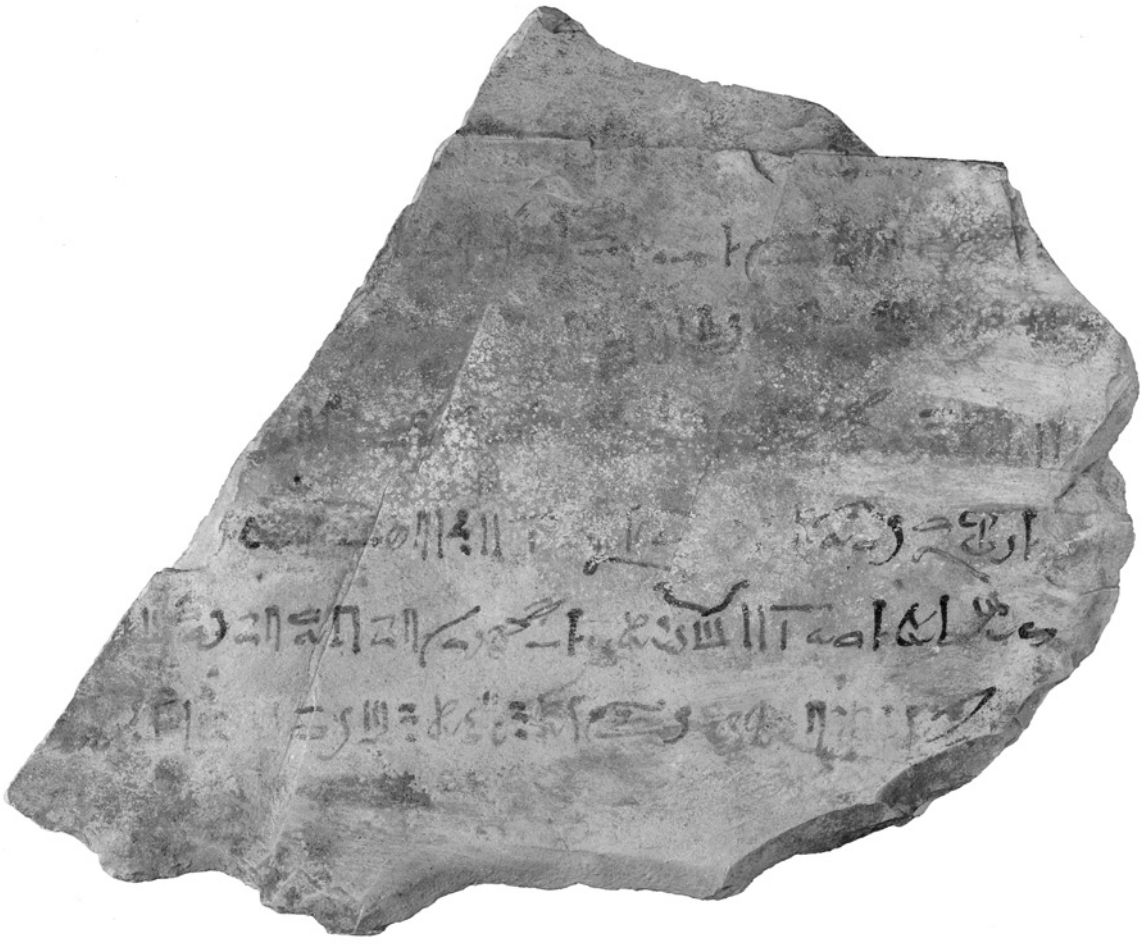

Plate 47. E.GA.6137.1943, front

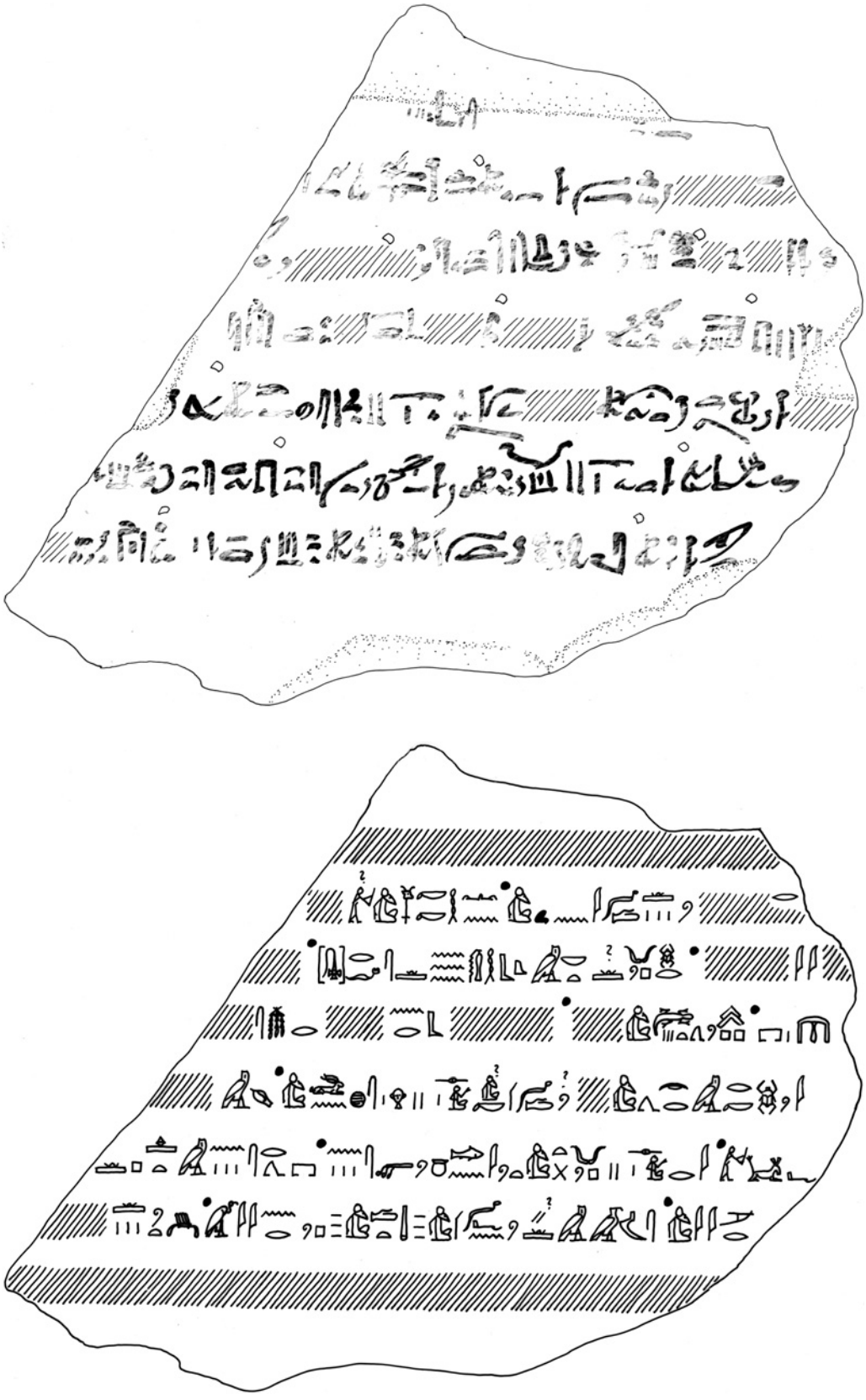

Plate 48. E.GA.6137.1943, front

Plate 49. E.GA.6137.1943, back

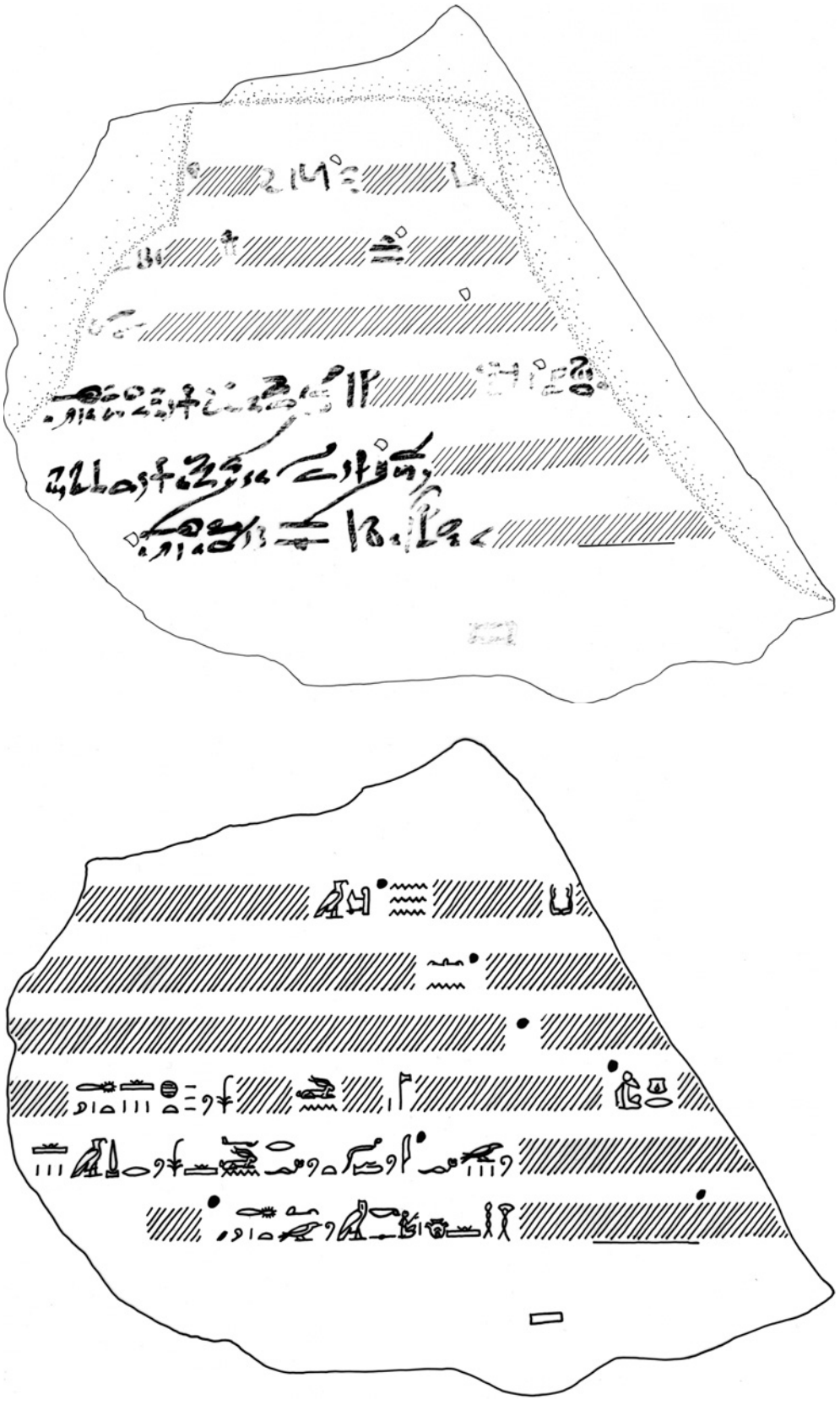

Plate 50. E.GA.6137.1943, back

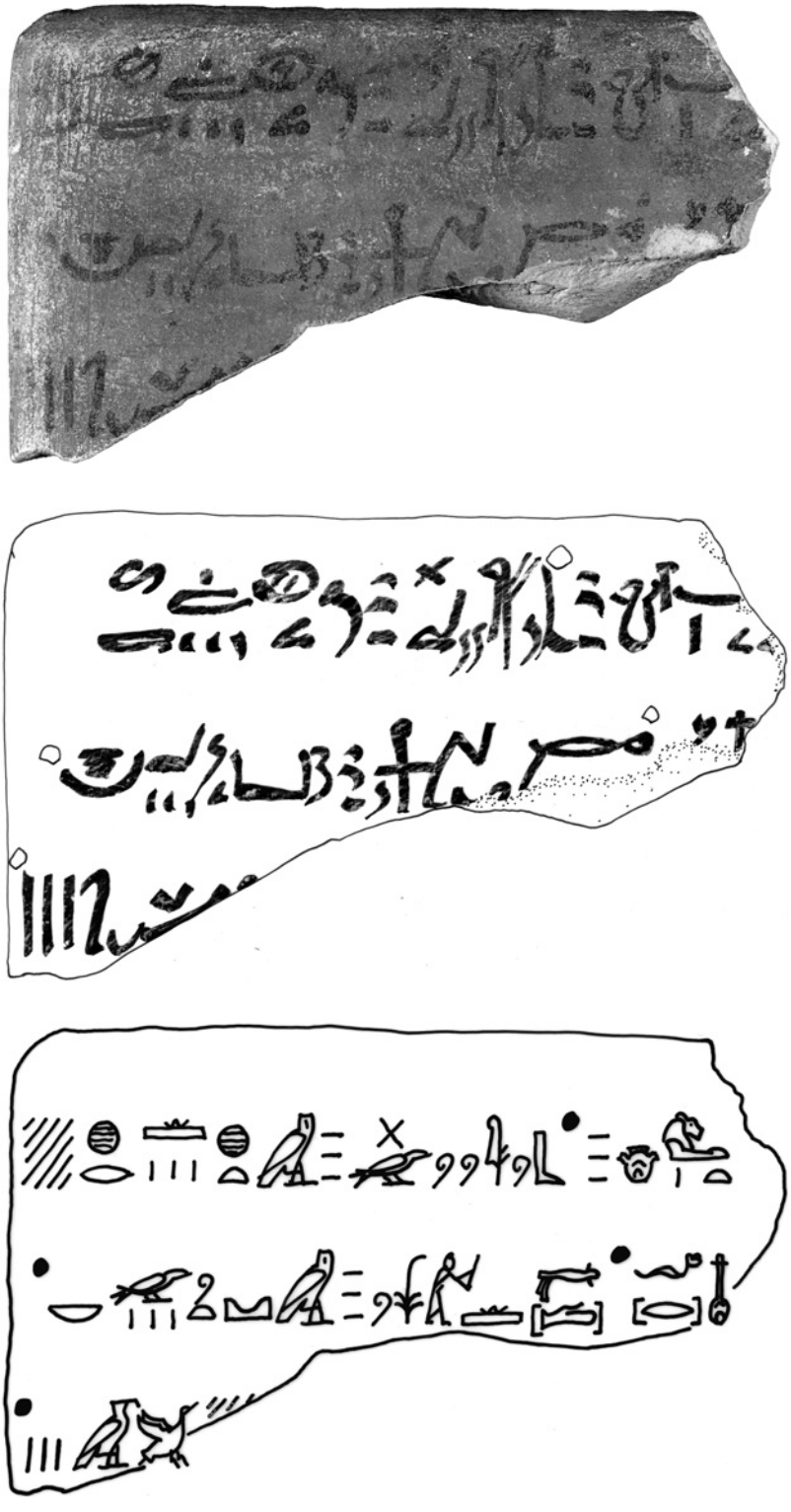

Plate 51. E.GA.6138.1943

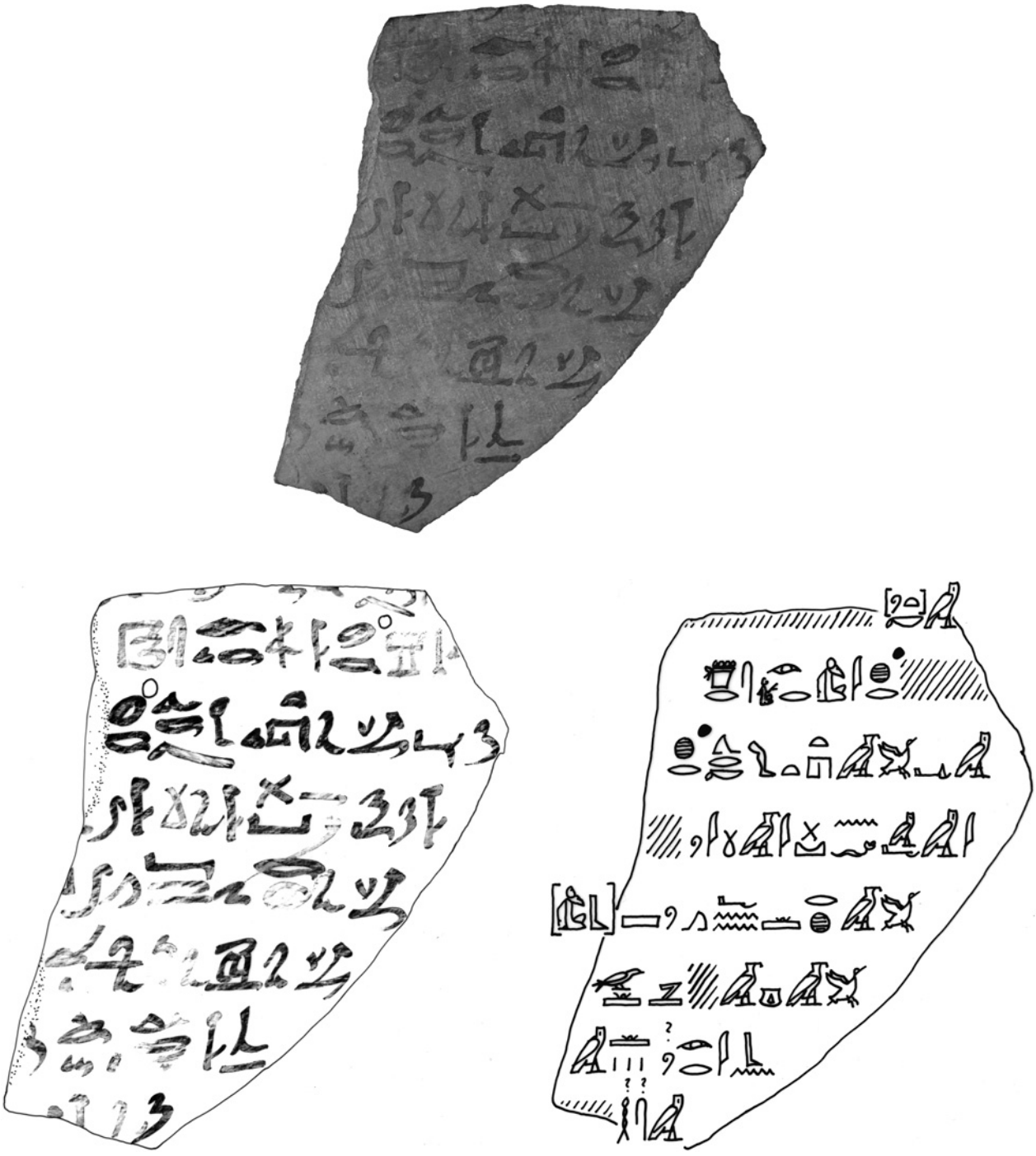

Plate 52. E.GA.6139.1943

Plate 53. E.GA.6140.1943

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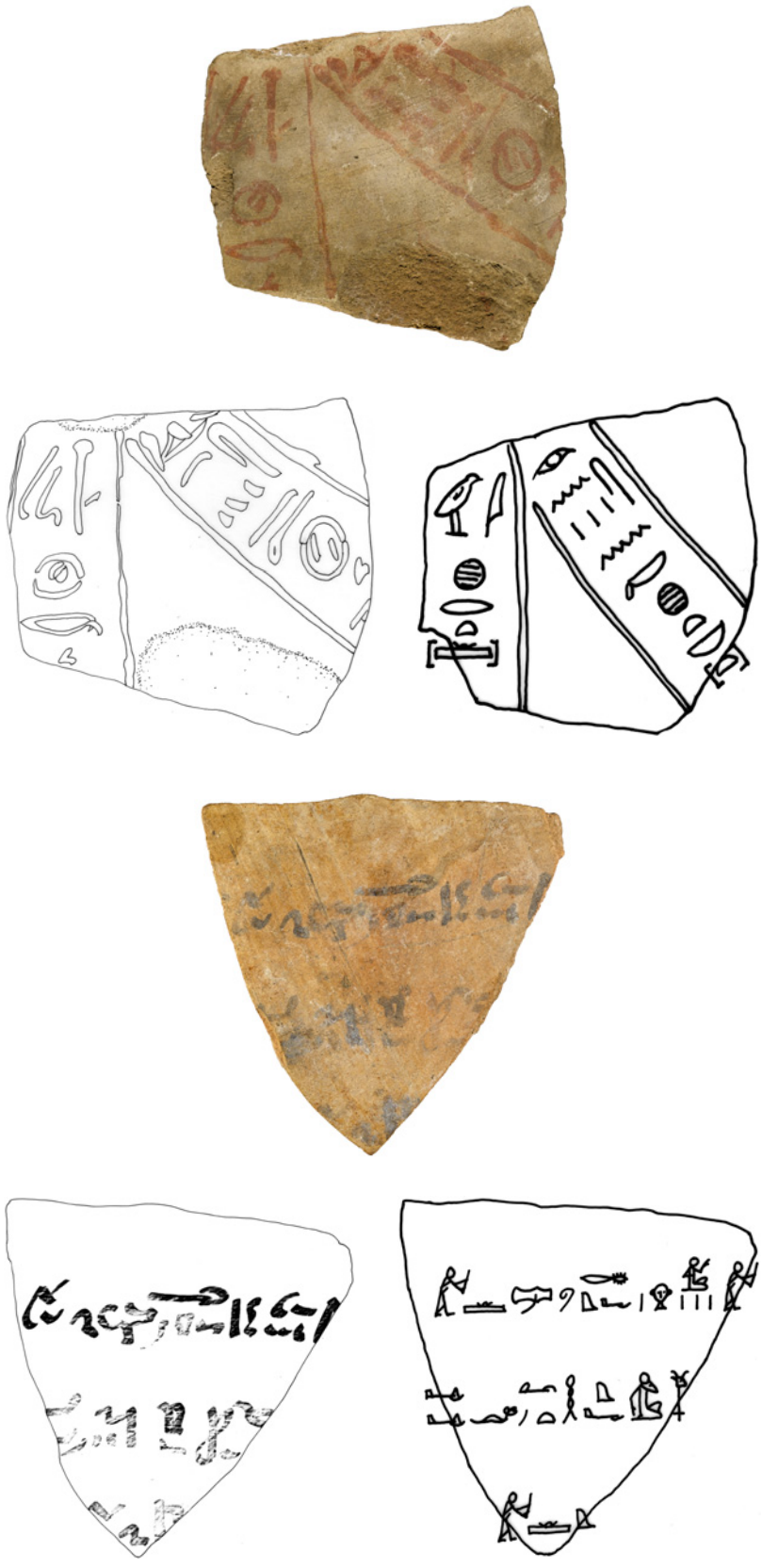


Plate 54. E.76.1926 (top) and E.77.1926 (bottom)

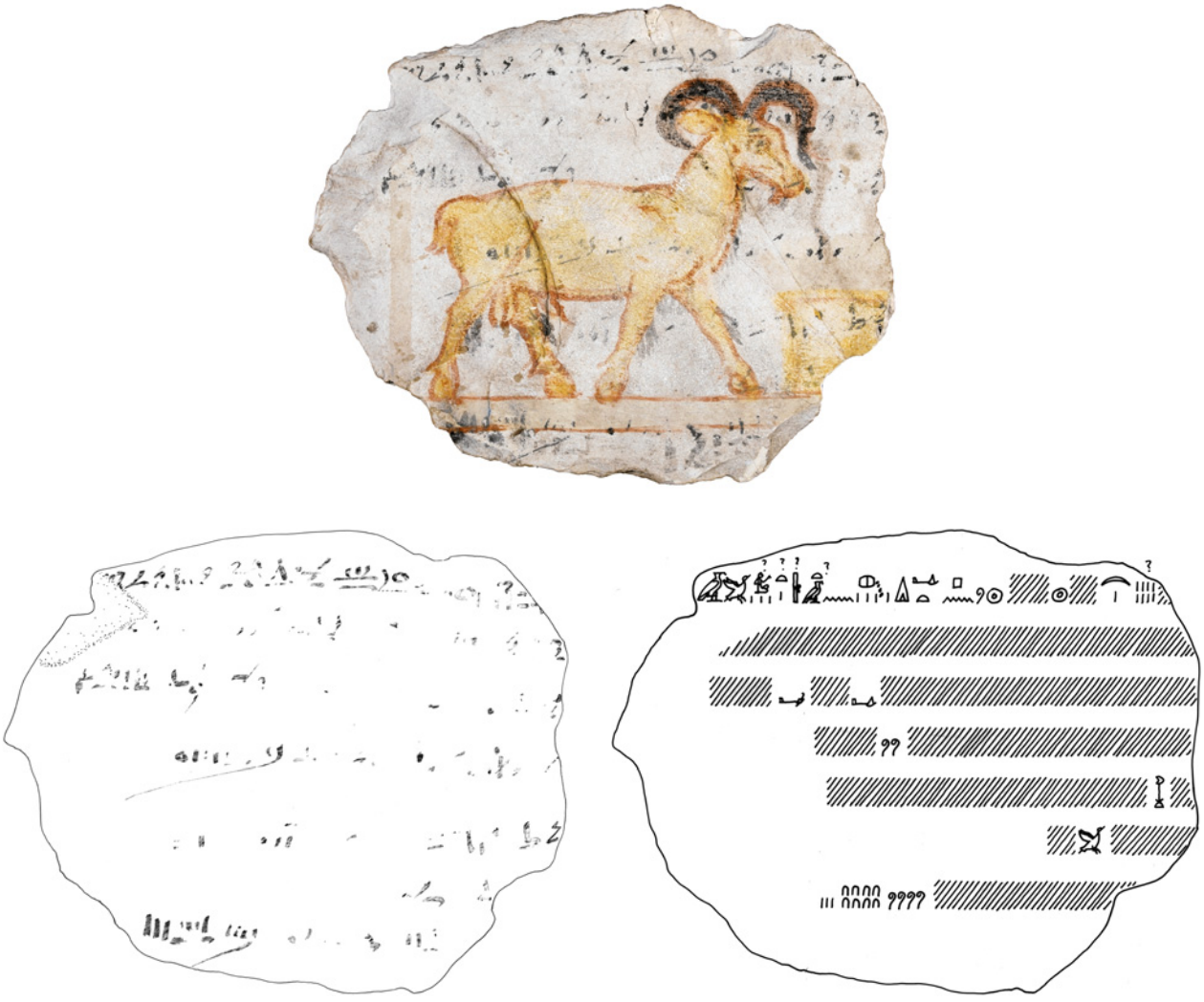


Plate 55. E.103.1949, front

Plate 56. E.4758.1943

Plate 57. E.GA.6118.1943, front

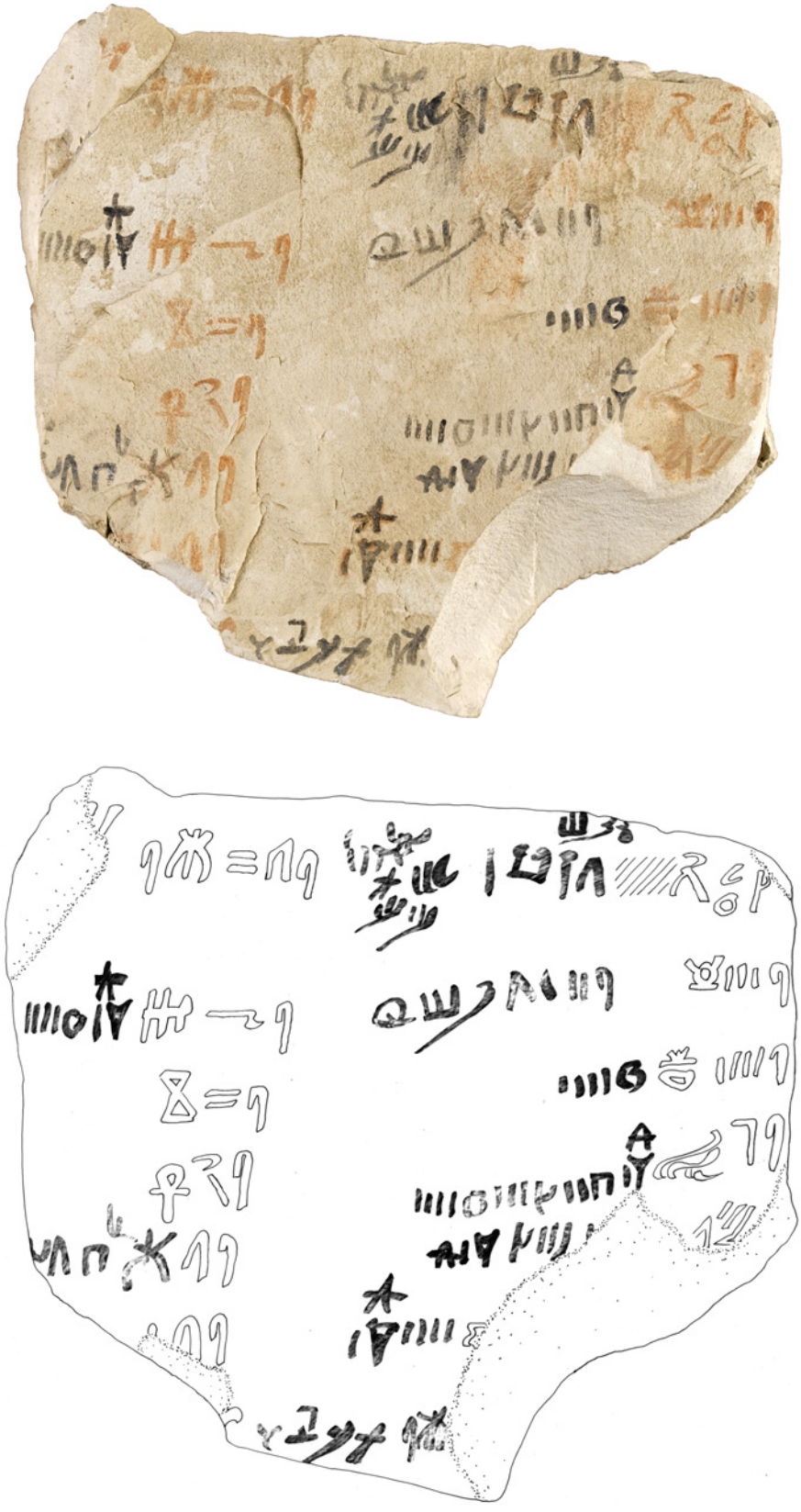


Plate 58. E.GA.6120.1943, front

Plate 59. E.GA.6121.1943

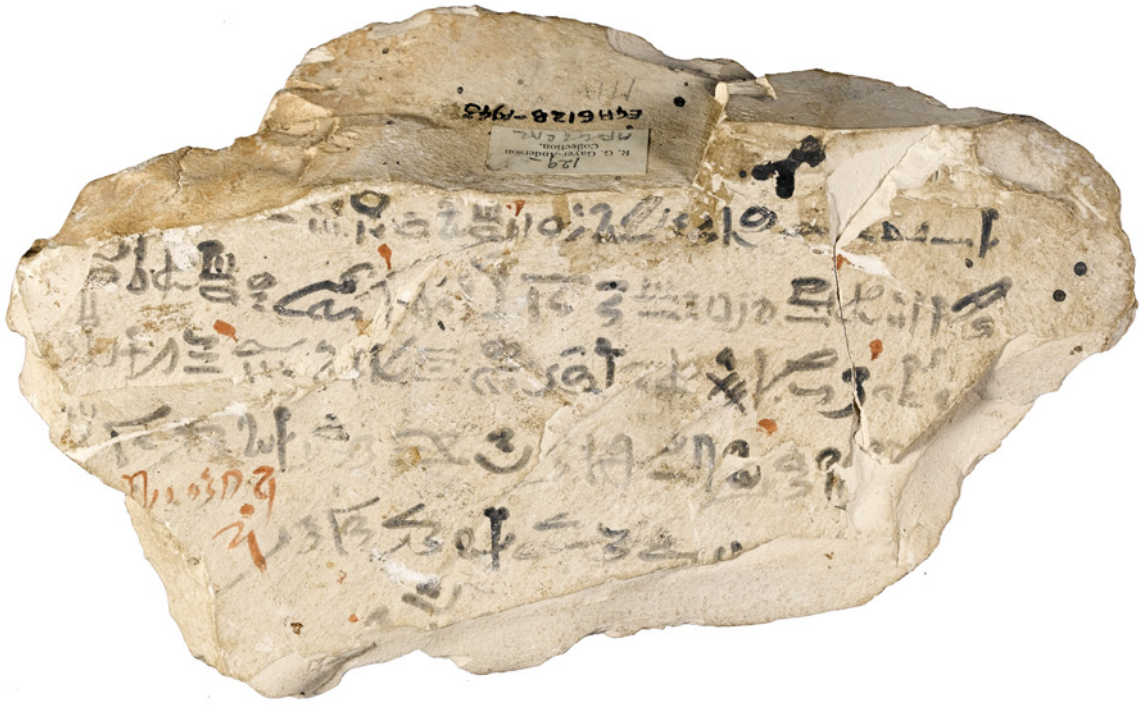
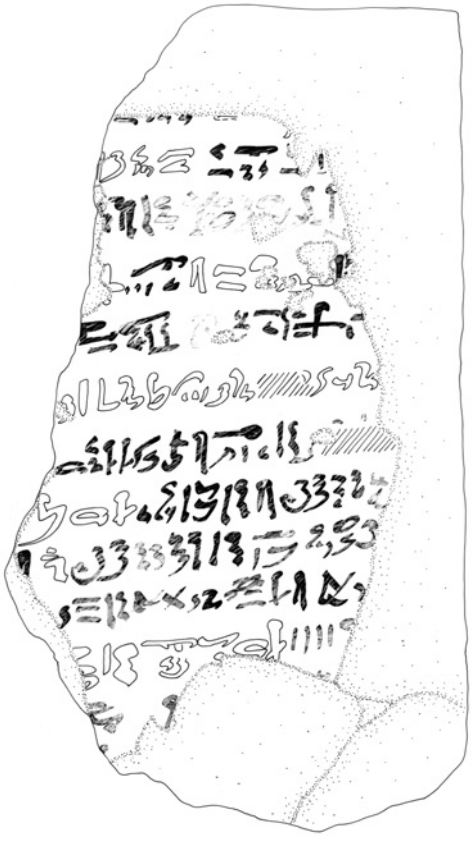


Plate 60. E.GA.6128.1943, front (facsimile and transcription on plate 25)

Plate 61. E.GA.6131.1943



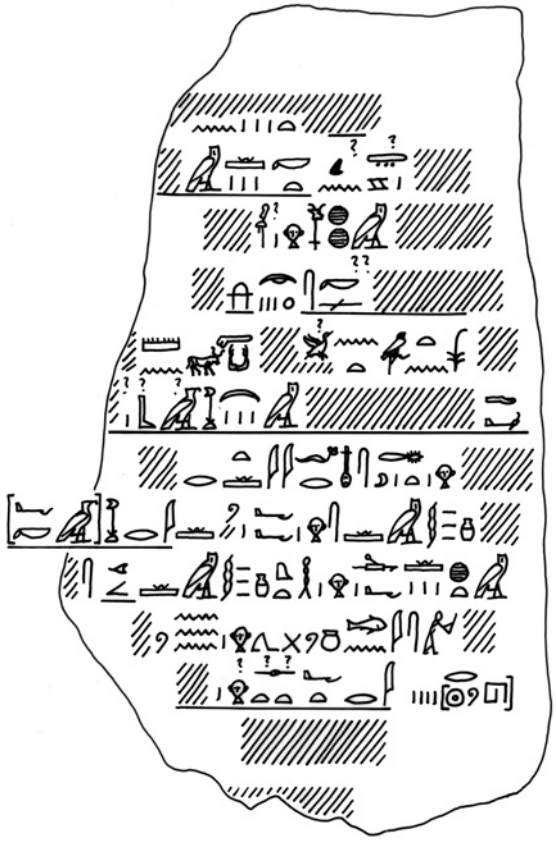


Plate 62. E.GA.6141.1943

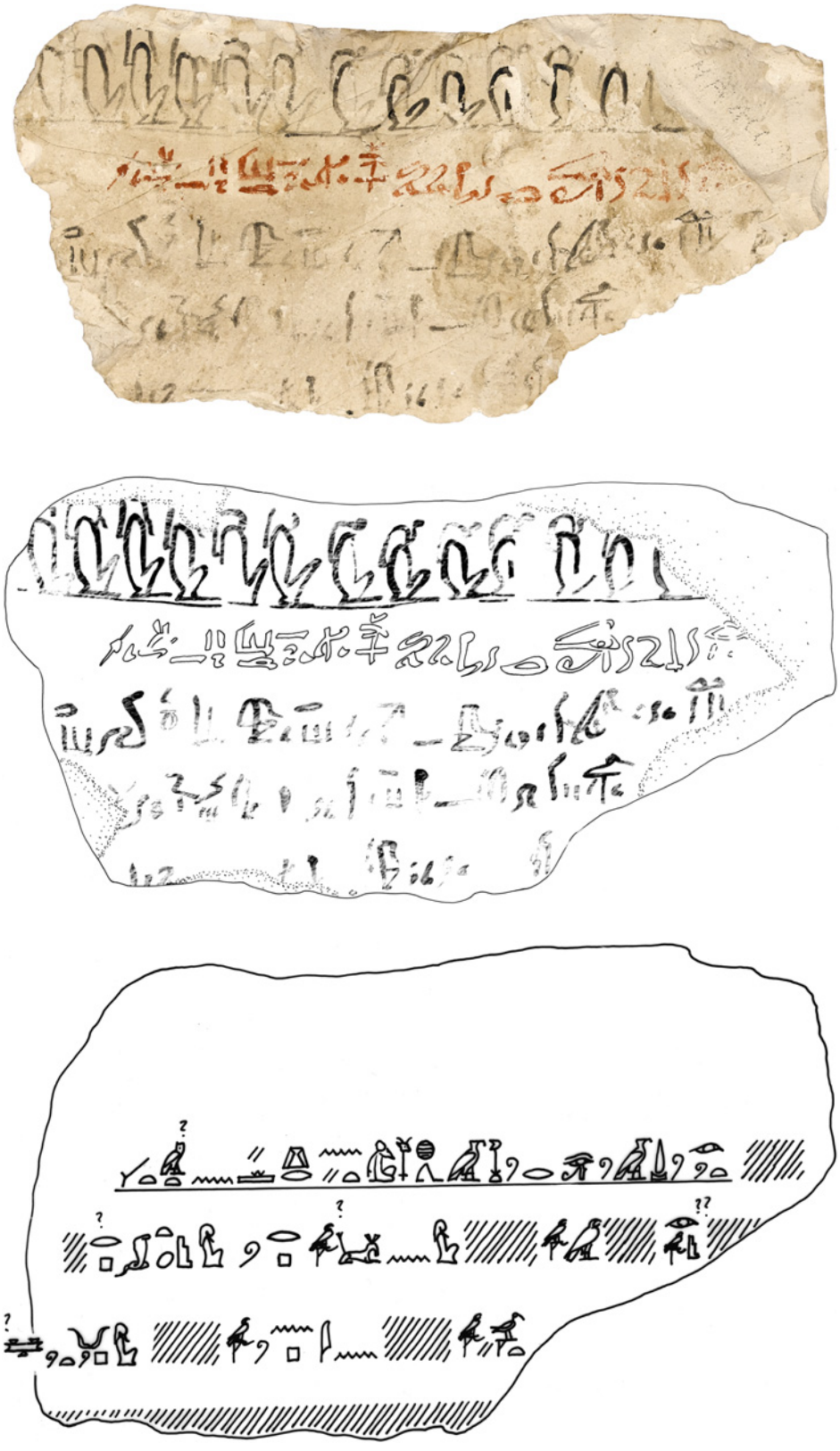


Plate 63. E.GA.6142.1943